

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



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Class E178

Book 1

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A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



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TORONTO

A HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES

BY
JOHN P. O'HARA

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PREFACE

THIS volume aims to present the story of American history in a form which will engage the interest of pupils in the upper grades of the elementary schools. It will be found that a considerable amount of material of traditional interest, but of small intrinsic importance, has been omitted in order that a fuller emphasis might be placed on events and movements of greater significance. Following the best teaching opinion, the volume deals constantly with the causal relations of historical events, due regard being had for the capacity of the pupils who will use the book. The wealth of illustrations and the many excellent maps with which the publishers have enriched the volume greatly enhance its value for school use.

In the preparation of this book the author has received assistance from many sources, but special acknowledgment is due to Miss Anastasia Doyle of the Humboldt High School, St. Paul, Minnesota, who has prepared the questions on the text and the other aids to study; to Professor Frank O'Hara of the Catholic University of America, and Linda Maley O'Hara, who have read the entire manuscript and suggested many valuable improvements; to the author's former associates in the department of history in the University of Oregon, Professor Joseph Schafer and Professor R. Carlton Clark, each of whom read portions of the manuscript and gave generously of special knowledge, and to Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, superintendent of schools for the Archdiocese of Oregon City, who at various stages of the work offered valuable suggestions.

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

THE Study Questions at the end of each chapter are intended to aid the pupil in the preparation of his lesson; occasional questions have been formulated so as to stimulate independent thinking on his part. To facilitate a test of the pupil's understanding of what he reads there has been placed at the end of each chapter a vocabulary containing words of the text which are likely to be new to many of the children. The enlargement of the pupil's vocabulary should be a normal result of efficient history teaching. Suggestive map exercises are offered and it is urged that a great deal of map work be done. The study of geography should be correlated with the study of history: opportunity should be taken to point out the influence of climate, soil, river, and mountain on the life of the people. There is no reason why the geography lesson in the history class should not be as well done as in the geography class.

Every teacher will want to have his class do some outside reading. The wide diversity of school equipment makes it difficult to offer a program of collateral reading, but for the teacher whose library is lacking in historical material a few brief suggestions may be made:

The Study of History in the Elementary Schools (Scribners), being a Report to the American Historical Association by the Committee of Eight, outlines a course in American history and suggests suitable readings for the teacher and the children. The book otherwise contains matter of great value and should be in the hands of every teacher of American history.

The teacher who has a very limited amount of money to spend on collateral reading might make a beginning with these books :

Barstow, C. L. (editor): *Century Readings in United States History* (Century Co.), six volumes, 50 cents each. An excellent collection covering the whole course of American history.

Elson, H. W.: *Side Lights on American History* (Macmillan). A series of readings covering the period from the Declaration of Independence to the Spanish-American War.

Elson, H. W.: *History of the United States of America* (Macmillan). A large one-volume history of value to the teacher but written in a style which most of the pupils will read with interest.

Scollard, Clinton: *Ballads of American Bravery*. A collection of patriotic verse which may be supplemented by

The Battle Line of Democracy (Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.).

Johnson, Henry: *The Teaching of History* (Macmillan). The teacher who wishes to grow in his profession will find this book one of the very best in the field.

The History Teacher's Magazine (The McKinley Publishing Company, Philadelphia). A mine of useful information for the history teacher. Every history teacher should have access to it.

The Catholic Historical Review, published by the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., contains excellent studies in its special field, publishes many documents of interest, and has excellent book reviews.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF AMERICA . . .	I
II. THE AMERICAN INDIANS	29
III. THE EARLY MISSIONARIES	37
IV. THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA	44
V. THE SOUTHERN COLONIES	49
VI. THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES	65
VII. THE MIDDLE COLONIES	82
VIII. COLONIAL LIFE	93
IX. THE RISE AND FALL OF NEW FRANCE	102
X. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION	121
XI. THE FORMATION OF THE UNION	172
XII. LIFE AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION	184
XIII. THE FEDERALISTS IN POWER	192
XIV. THE JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY	204
XV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST	228
XVI. THE JACKSONIAN PERIOD	239
XVII. TEXAS, OREGON, AND MEXICO	252
XVIII. SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CHANGES	264
XIX. THE CONTEST OVER SLAVERY	278
XX. THE CIVIL WAR	293
XXI. THE SOUTH RESTORED TO SOUTHERN CONTROL	330
XXII. A NEW INDUSTRIAL ERA	341
XXIII. CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, THE TARIFF, AND FREE SILVER	357

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXIV. THE UNITED STATES BECOMES A WORLD POWER . . .	369
XXV. OUR OWN TIMES	383

APPENDIX:

Declaration of Independence	417
Constitution of the United States	422
The Presidents and Vice-Presidents	444

COLOR MAPS

	PAGE
North America, showing English, French, and Spanish Possessions in America, 1750	facing 108
North America according to Treaty of 1783	" 168
United States in 1805	" 209
United States in 1914	" 388

BLACK AND WHITE MAPS

The Chief Trade Routes between Europe and Asia	4
Toscanelli's Map of the World	9
Line of Demarcation (1494)	14
Spanish Explorations	22
French Explorations	26
Land Granted to the London and Plymouth Companies	49
Captain John Smith's Map	66
Plymouth	69
Early New England Settlements	72
Early Settlements in the Connecticut Valley	74
Region Involved in King Philip's War	77
French Forts in the West	113
Acadia, a Part of New France	114
Quebec and Vicinity	116
Bunker Hill and Vicinity	138
Arnold's Attack on Quebec	140
Philadelphia and Vicinity	147
The Expedition of George Rogers Clark	156
The Field of the Campaigns of Greene and Cornwallis	165
Yorktown	167
Regions Explored by Lewis and Clark and Zebulon Pike	208
The Canadian Frontier	217

	PAGE
Washington and Vicinity	222
Jackson's War in the Southwest	223
Missouri Compromise	230
Oregon Country	232
Field of the Campaigns in the War with Mexico	258
Kansas-Nebraska Territory	284
The Peninsular Campaign	305
Battlefield of Chickamauga	315
Sherman's March to the Sea	317
The Battlefield of Gettysburg	319

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF AMERICA

1. Discoveries of the Northmen. — Men from Norway, Northmen, as they are called, were the first Europeans to visit America and to leave us a record of their coming. These daring sailors were at home on the sea, and before the days of the mariner's compass made long voyages in the waters of western Europe and on the great ocean. As early as 874 A.D. they discovered Iceland and made settlements there.

A little over a hundred years after the settlements in Iceland were made, Eric the Red, a Northman exiled from his home in Iceland, founded a colony in Greenland. His son, Leif Ericson, while on a visit to Norway, became a Christian and, about the year 1000 A.D., set out to carry the Christian



A NORTHMAN

faith to his father's people. But he sailed far to the south and, before reaching Greenland, touched the shores of America. He found a pleasant land with fields of "wild wheat," and such an abundance of grapes that he called the country Vinland. His stories of the new land attracted others of his countrymen, but no permanent settlements were made, and after a few years the Northmen ceased to visit America. The scene of Leif's discovery was probably in the region now known as Nova Scotia, though some believe it was in the present state of Massachusetts.

It is probable that other Europeans, before the time of Columbus, landed on the shores that came to be known as America; but, if so, they had no more influence on the history of America than the Northmen themselves. The conditions of sea travel were not yet favorable to the exploration and settlement of our continent. Most of the men of the time who were interested in lands outside of Europe turned their attention to Asia, but the time was to come when the routes of Asiatic travel and commerce would be difficult to use and new ones would be sought. It was in the search for new ways to reach Asia that Europe found America and laid it open to permanent settlement.

2. Trade Between Europe and Asia. — From very early times the people who lived in southern Europe carried on an exchange of products with the people of Asia. Toward the end of the Middle Ages this trade increased very rapidly. Rich cities grew up in Italy, and France, and other lands of western Europe, and there was much wealth that could be spent on the luxuries of life.

From the eleventh to the fourteenth century, hundreds of thousands of Europeans visited Asia in the great military expeditions known as the Crusades, which were undertaken

to free the Holy Land of Palestine from the Turks. For two hundred years there was a constant passing back and forth of soldiers and pilgrims and merchants. Europe and Asia became better acquainted than ever before. Thousands of European merchants settled in the cities of Asia, and the commerce between the two continents became of very great importance.

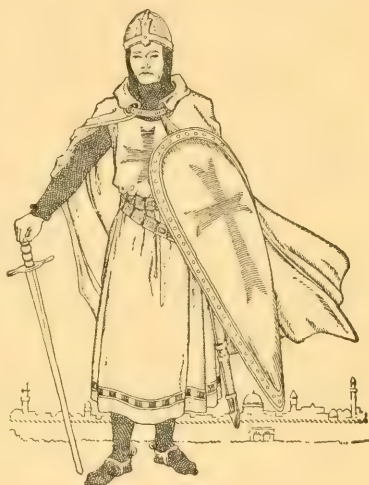
The chief trade routes at this time between Europe and Asia were :

(a) From India by water to the Red Sea, then by caravan to the Nile and down the Nile to the Mediterranean.

(b) From India by water to the Persian Gulf, then up the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and westward through Syria to the Mediterranean.

(c) A long overland route from China passing north of the Caspian Sea to Southern Russia and then across the Black Sea to Constantinople.

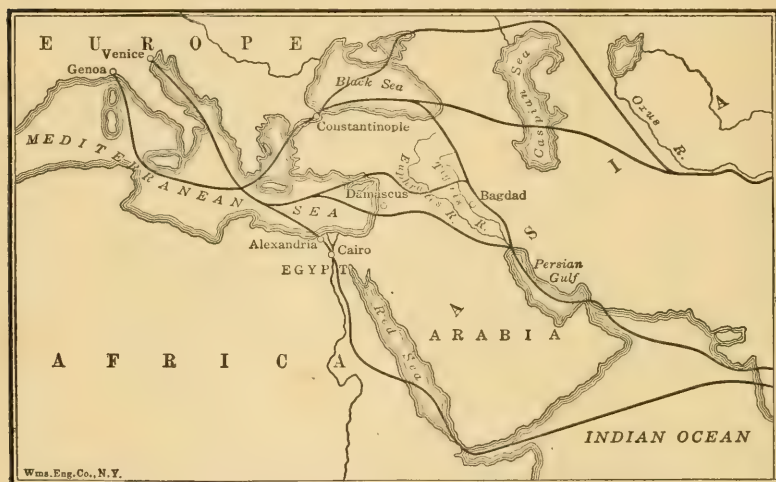
The woolen goods and some minerals of Europe, such as tin, copper, lead, and quicksilver, were much in demand in the East and, in return, the people of Asia had a great variety of products which were highly valued in Europe. India, Ceylon, and the Spice Islands offered pepper, nutmeg, cloves, cinnamon, and other spices greatly prized by Europeans. We read that for many years the merchants of Venice bought 420,000 pounds of pepper annually



A CRUSADER

from the Sultan of Egypt, who had received it from the East.

The bringing of spices from the East was a very old custom, for, as we are told in the story of Joseph, when his brethren had cast him into the pit "they saw some Ishmaelites on their way coming from Galaad, with their



THE CHIEF TRADE ROUTES BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA

camels, carrying spices, and balm, and myrrh to Egypt." From China came beautiful silk fabrics and fine porcelain. Oriental rugs and tapestries came then, as now, from Persia, Arabia, and Afghanistan. Diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones, drugs, perfumes, dyes, and fragrant woods found their way from the East to European markets. It will be seen, then, that the trade between Europe and Asia was extremely valuable and that its interruption would cause heavy losses to many cities like Venice, Genoa, and

Pisa in Italy, Marseilles, and Montpellier in France, and Nuremberg, Constance, and Regensburg in Germany, for the prosperity of these rich trading centers depended in great part on the trade with Asia.

3. Oriental Trade Disturbed. — A time came when the trade with Asia was very greatly disturbed. In the fifteenth century the Ottoman Turks, a barbarous people that had come from Central Asia, captured Constantinople. This city, on account of its position on the narrow waterway which separates the Balkan Peninsula from Asia Minor, controlled the great trade route from Central Asia to the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The Turks robbed the Italian merchants of the city, murdered some, and sold others into slavery. Soon they captured Smyrna and other rich centers of commerce.

Though the great trade routes by way of Syria and of Egypt remained open until after the discovery of America by Columbus, the cruel wars of the Turks had caused great losses to the merchants of the Mediterranean and there was danger that the whole trade would suffer. It was, therefore, not strange that men thought of looking for another way to the East.

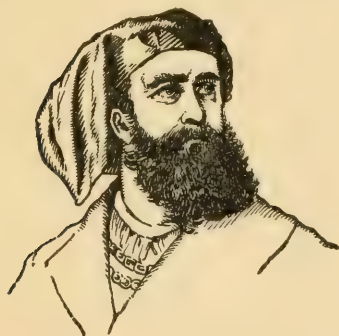
4. Missionaries in the East. — The people of Europe were interested in the East for other reasons than those of business. Missionaries of the Church wished to convert the people of the East to Christianity; many Franciscan and Dominican priests visited the far East in the thirteenth



A FRANCISCAN MISSIONARY

and fourteenth centuries. One of the earliest of these was John of Plano Carpini, an Italian Franciscan, who, about the middle of the thirteenth century, spent two years in the East and left an interesting account of his travels. A few years later William of Rubruck, a Flemish Franciscan, was sent by St. Louis, King of France, on a mission to the Mongol Emperor of China. In his very full account of his adventures are found interesting descriptions of China and the lands of Central Asia. The success of these and other missions was so great that bishops were appointed for Peking and other Chinese cities.

5. Marco Polo. — A well-known traveler of the thirteenth century was Marco Polo, who spent many years in the far



MARCO POLO

East and became an officer at the court of the Emperor of China. In 1295 he returned to Venice, having spent three years in making the long voyage by sea along the southern coasts of Asia. Some years later Marco Polo told the story of his travels, a story that was printed about twenty years before Columbus discovered America and that became

one of the most widely read books in the world. From Polo's book and from the accounts of other travelers, the men of Europe learned a great deal about the lands from which their spices and precious stones came. They found that these lands were washed by the ocean, and they began to hope that they could find a way to them by the sea.

6. The Need of a New Route to the East. — Improvements in ship-building and the general use of the mariner's compass had made it possible for sailors to make long voyages on the ocean without danger. So we find that Spain and Portugal and other countries that bordered on the Atlantic Ocean built many ships and began to take active part in the seagoing commerce of the world. They wanted a share in the Oriental trade that was maintained on the Mediterranean Sea and did, in fact, secure some part of it. But the Italian merchants, who had entered upon this trade much earlier than the Spanish or Portuguese, and had made special treaties with the rulers in the eastern Mediterranean, were able to keep the most profitable business for themselves. The Portuguese and Spaniards saw that a sea route to India and to the Spice Islands and China would be of great advantage to them; and, as we shall see, each of these nations took up the work of finding such a route, and each was successful.

7. The Portuguese Lead the Way. — The first people to find an all-water route to the East were the Portuguese. Prince Henry the Navigator, a member of the ruling family of Portugal, spent the greater part of his life in encouraging geographical discovery along the coast of Africa. The Azores and Madeira Islands were rediscovered and colonized, while each year new expeditions were sent to the South, until, by 1455, the Gulf of Guinea was reached.

For a time it was thought that the southernmost point of Africa had been attained and the way to India opened; but it was not until 1486, long after the death of Prince Henry, that the Portuguese captain, Bartholomew Diaz, sailed past the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean. Here his crew mutinied and he was compelled to return

to Portugal. Twelve years later Vasco da Gama, another Portuguese, again passed the Cape and reached Calicut in India; but before this America had been discovered.



PRINCE HENRY THE
NAVIGATOR

The efforts of the Portuguese navigators to reach India had an important influence on the discovery of America. The experiences of Prince Henry's sailors taught people to build better ships and to improve the making of maps and instruments needed in sailing the sea. The Prince and his successors brought together at their navigation school skillful seamen and mapmakers from other countries.

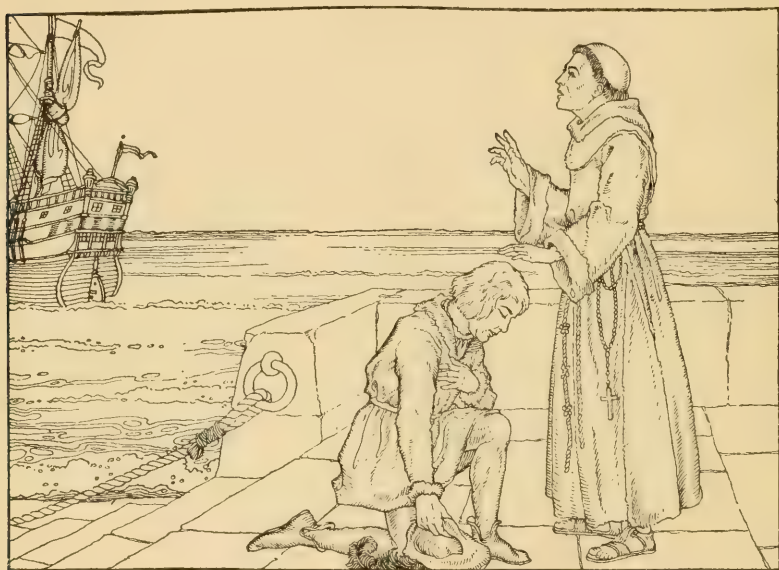
Bartholomew Columbus, brother of the discoverer of America, was with Diaz on his great voyage past the Cape of Good Hope, and Christopher Columbus was for a time in the Portuguese service and made a voyage to the Guinea coast.

COLUMBUS FINDS AMERICA

8. Early Years of Columbus. — Little is known about the early life of the discoverer of America. He was born in Genoa about the year 1446 and was the son of Domenico Colombo, a weaver. As a young man he read many books on geography and the art of navigation. He was early attracted to the sea and spent some years in the service of Portugal, sailing south along the coast of Africa on voyages of discovery, and north as far as England and, possibly, to Iceland. The men among whom he worked were desirous

Columbus appealed to the King of Portugal for ships to make a trial of his plan. The King thought him nothing but a boastful talker and refused his request.

10. Columbus Appeals to Spain. — Failing to get help in Portugal, in 1484 Columbus went to Spain, where for



From a painting

FATHER JUAN PEREZ, A FRIEND OF QUEEN ISABELLA, GIVING HIS BLESSING
TO COLUMBUS

seven years he urged the value of his plan and asked for financial aid to make it a success. The King and Queen of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, were busy driving out the Moors from their kingdom. It is easy to understand that when, after hundreds of years, the final destruction of the Moorish power in Spain seemed assured, the King and Queen found it hard to interest themselves in a voyage of

discovery to the other side of the earth. Besides, a committee appointed to investigate the plans of Columbus reported against them.

At last Columbus gave up hope of getting aid in Spain and started for France. Near the city of Palos he stopped at the Franciscan convent of La Rabida for shelter for his young son and himself. The prior, Father Juan Perez, a friend of Queen Isabella, became interested in his plans and undertook to persuade the Queen to give Columbus another hearing. Isabella was won over and agreed to find ships and men for the voyage to India.

Columbus was made an admiral of Castile. He was to be governor of the lands he should discover and was to receive one tenth of the gold and silver he should find. He was given letters of introduction to the great rulers of the East, whom he hoped to convert to Christianity. Columbus thus had three purposes in mind; viz.:

1. To find a westward route to India.
2. To discover new lands.
3. To extend the Christian religion among heathen peoples.

11. The Great Voyage of Discovery. — Three ships, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Niña*, were prepared at the Queen's command. The *Santa Maria* only was fully decked, and the entire crew of the little fleet did not exceed one hundred twenty men. On the morning of August 3, 1492, Columbus set out from the harbor of Palos. Stopping at the Canary Islands to refit one of his vessels, finally, on September 6, he started across the Atlantic. On the evening of October 11, after a voyage of five weeks, a light was seen, and the next morning a landing was made on one of the small islands of the Bahama group. The natives called

the island Guanahani, but Columbus renamed it San Salvador (Holy Savior).

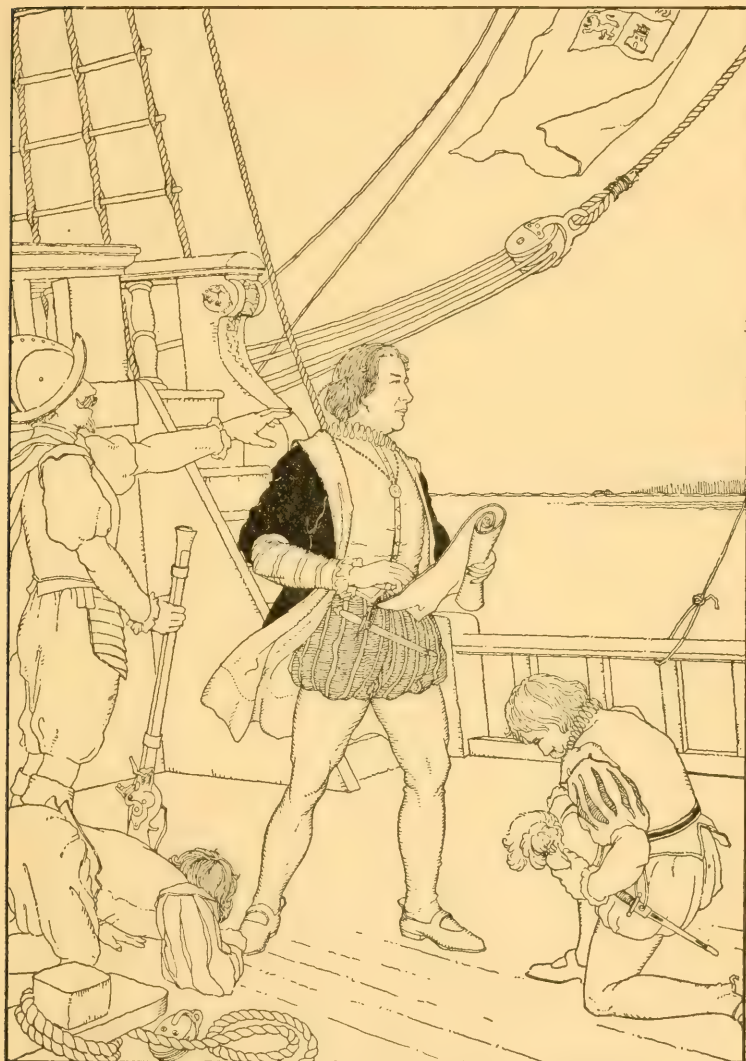
Some days after finding land he sailed south to Cuba and then to Haiti. Here, on Christmas day, the *Santa Maria* was wrecked. The loss of his best ship limited very greatly the accommodations of the fleet and determined Columbus to establish a settlement of those who were willing to stay. Leaving this first Spanish colony of forty-four men in the



THE THREE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS

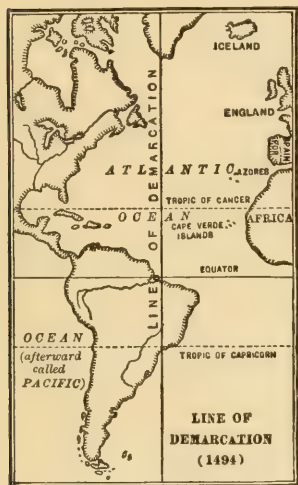
New World with provisions for a year and seed for sowing, Columbus returned to Spain, reaching Palos March 15, 1493. News of his return was received with great enthusiasm. "From all the neighboring places the people gathered along the highway to see him and the Indians and the other novel things that he had brought with him," says his son Ferdinand in describing the discoverer's journey to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella.

12. The Line of Demarcation. — There were some who doubted whether the new lands were really in the region



COLUMBUS DISCOVERS LAND

of India. The King of Portugal said that the discoveries of Columbus were evidently included in his dominions of Guinea. Portugal had secured very extensive rights in lands from the Canaries southward. These rights were guaranteed by a treaty with Spain and confirmed by the Pope, who in those days was constantly appealed to as an arbitrator between nations. In the



LINE OF DEMARCATION (1494)

interests of peace, Spain appealed to Pope Alexander VI, who sustained the existing rights of Portugal and protected the new rights of Spain. He drew an imaginary line from north to south, a hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and decided that east of this line Portugal was to retain the rights already possessed, while west of the line Spain was to have similar rights in lands that she discovered. Later, by the treaty of 1494, the line was drawn three hundred seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.

13. Later Voyages of Columbus. — The King and Queen were so well pleased with the reports of the first voyage that they readily helped Columbus in preparing for a new expedition. Colonies were to be planted in the new lands and missionaries were to go out to convert the natives to Christianity. Columbus sailed on his second voyage in September, 1493. The men he had left in Haiti had perished, and a new place on the island was chosen for the second venture. The cultivation of the soil and a search for gold

were to be the occupations of the newcomers. Sheep, cows, horses, and other domestic animals, as well as many cereals and other plants, were introduced into America by the settlers who came with Columbus on his second voyage. An evil result of the settlement in Haiti was the enslavement of Indians, who, in spite of the earnest efforts of the government at home to suppress the practice, were made to work for the Spanish settlers.

Columbus made a third voyage in 1498, on which he reached the mainland of South America. But the colony in Haiti did not prosper, and there were many complaints against the management of Columbus and his brother. A royal official, sent out to investigate the complaints, sent Columbus to Spain as a prisoner. Though he was at once released by Ferdinand and Isabella, he was never again given authority over the Spanish settlements.

The sad home-coming from his third voyage was made more bitter by the news that the Portuguese captain, Vasco da Gama, had returned from a successful voyage to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Columbus once more determined to prove that the Indies could be reached by his plan of sailing westward, and his fourth and last voyage, begun in 1502, was undertaken for this purpose. He intended to devote the profits that came from this voyage to the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem from the infidels. He reached the mainland of North America in Honduras and followed the coast line for over a thousand miles until he passed the Isthmus of Panama. He returned to Spain in 1504, having suffered shipwreck and many other hardships on the voyage. Queen Isabella, who had constantly remained his friend, died soon after his return. He was now worn in body, and as he had no powerful

friends, his public career was closed. His death occurred on May 20, 1506, in the city of Valladolid.

After the discovery of the great continent to the south by Columbus on his third voyage, many attempts were made to explore it. Cabral, a Portuguese captain, sailing for India, sighted the shores of Brazil in 1500. As this land was east of the demarcation line, it became Portuguese territory. As a result we find both Spaniards and Portuguese engaged in exploration in South America.

DISCOVERERS WHO FOLLOWED COLUMBUS

14. Why America Was So Named.—A Florentine pilot, Amerigo Vespucci (or Americus Vesputius, as his name is written in Latin), visited South America with both Spanish and Portuguese expeditions. He wrote an account of his travels in the New World to friends in Italy, in which he boasted that he had found a new world “more populous and more full of animals than our Europe, or Asia, or Africa, and even more temperate and pleasant than any other region known to us.” His letters were printed in Latin and widely circulated throughout Europe before the discoveries of Columbus became generally known. Moreover, he seemed to place his discovery of the new continent in 1497, a year before Columbus reached it.



AMERIGO VESPUCCI

Martin Waldseemueller, a professor of geography in the College of St. Die in the Vosges Mountains, described the

new land in a book which he published in 1507. Thinking that Americus had discovered it, the professor suggested that it be called "the land of Americus or America." A few years later Waldseemueller corrected his mistake and gave Columbus credit for the discovery of South America, but his earlier suggestion had proved very popular and the name of America remained. Later attempts to honor the discoverer by calling North America "Columbana" failed, and the entire New World discovered by the great Genoese continues to bear the name of the boastful Florentine.

15. The Voyages of John Cabot. — John Cabot, a citizen of Venice, set sail from Bristol, England, in May, 1497, on a voyage of discovery to the west, bearing authority from the English king, Henry VII, to take possession of whatever lands he might discover. Cabot had traveled in the East, and he, like Columbus, hoped that a way to the land of spices might be found by sailing to the west. On this voyage and one he made the next year, Cabot seems to have explored much of the Atlantic coast from Newfoundland to South Carolina. He received a pension from the King, but, as he had not found a route to the spice lands, his discoveries were soon forgotten. It was nearly a hundred years later that the English began in earnest the work of exploration in the New World. Then they recalled the discoveries of John Cabot and on them based their rights to colonize North America.

16. The Discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Balboa. — The Spanish explorers were soon to find that it was, in truth, a new world that had been discovered. In 1513 Balboa, a bankrupt planter from the Spanish colony in Haiti, but a capable leader of men, crossed the Isthmus of Panama to find a "great water" of which the Indians had told him.

After eighteen days of heroic labor, spent in penetrating the tropical jungle of the isthmus, he beheld the waters of the Pacific Ocean and offered thanks to "God and all the Heavenly Host who had reserved the prize of so great a thing unto him, being a man but of small wit and knowledge, of little experience, and lowly parentage."

17. Magellan Proves That the Earth Is Round. — The newly discovered ocean was crossed a few years later by Magellan. This Portuguese sailor, who had entered the



FERDINAND MAGELLAN

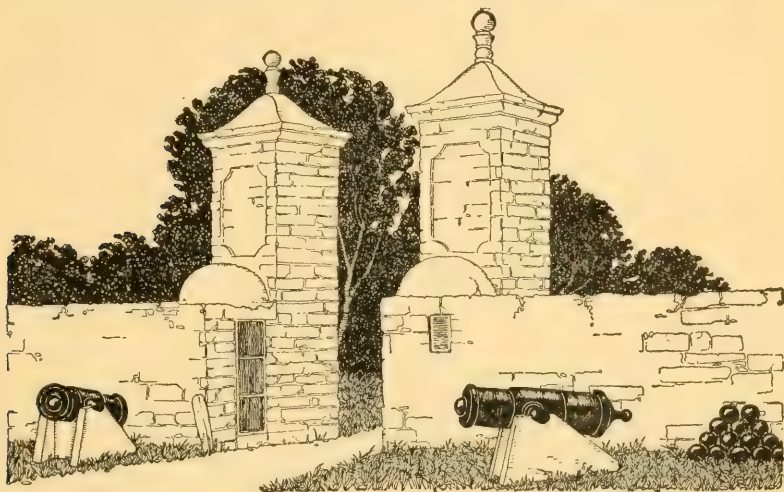
service of Spain, set sail with five ships in September, 1519, and late the next year passed through the straits, three hundred twenty-five miles long, which now bear his name. As he entered the ocean to the west, the waters were so calm that he called it "the Peaceful Sea," *Mar Pacifico*, in Spanish.

Sailing boldly to the northwest, the great captain at length came to the Ladrones and the Philippine Islands, where in a fight with the natives he met his death. One of his ships, the *Victoria*, continued the voyage to Spain, arriving in September, 1522, thus completing the first voyage around the earth.

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

18. Ponce de Leon Discovers Florida. — In 1513, the same year in which Balboa discovered the Pacific, Ponce de Leon, one of the first governors of the island of Porto Rico, set out to find the island of Bimini, concerning the

riches of which vague reports had come from Indian sources. It is said also that he hoped to find there a spring which would give back youth to the old. Sailing north and west from Porto Rico, he came on Easter Sunday in sight of the coast of the mainland near the present town of St. Augustine.



THE OLD SPANISH GATES OF ST. AUGUSTINE

He called the land Florida from the Spanish name for Easter time, *Pascua Florida*. Before leaving the new land he sailed around the southern end of the peninsula and followed the coast as far as Tampa Bay.

19. The Story of Cabeza de Vaca. — A Spanish expedition under the direction of Pamfilo de Narvaez, who had secured an important grant of land on the Gulf of Mexico, landed near Tampa Bay in the spring of 1528. Directing his ships to follow the coast and meet him farther to the west, Narvaez, with three hundred men, began the exploration of the interior. He was soon forced by the warlike

natives to return to the coast, where he and his men built rude boats and made an attempt to reach the place appointed for the meeting with his fleet. Somewhere along the coast of Texas Narvaez was drowned; the meeting with the ships never took place, and cold and hunger reduced the company to fifteen members, who were taken prisoners by the Indians. Among these survivors was Cabeza de Vaca, treasurer and historian of the expedition, who has left a stirring account of his adventures. After many wanderings, he and three companions reached the Spanish settlement of San Miguel on the western coast of Mexico. His description of the country he had seen made men in Mexico think that a land of great wealth lay to the north.

20. Coronado's March. — Mexico, which had been conquered by the Spaniard Cortez in 1519-1521, was now to



HERNANDO CORTEZ

furnish one of the greatest exploring expeditions ever undertaken. The story of de Vaca received strength from the belief current in Mexico that there were in the north the seven cities of Cibola, as they were called, each as large as the City of Mexico. The report that one of these cities had been seen by a Franciscan missionary added to the enthusiasm for the expedition, which set out in 1540, under Francisco de Coronado,

who commanded a force of three hundred Spaniards and nearly twice as many Indians. The explorers did not find the famed cities of Cibola, but traversed much of what is

now southwestern United States, the advance guard probably reaching Nebraska. Coronado returned to Mexico in 1542, having lost only a few men.

The Grand Cañon of the Colorado was discovered by members of the expedition and Lower California was found to be a peninsula and not an island. In 1542 the Spanish explored the coast of California as far north as Cape Mendocino, so called in honor of Mendoza, the Viceroy of Mexico, who had fitted out Coronado's expedition.

21. How De Soto Discovered the Mississippi. — Hernando de Soto was another Spanish explorer who was at-



DE SOTO DISCOVERS THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

tracted to what is now the United States by the story of Cabeza de Vaca. Early in the summer of 1539 he landed at Tampa Bay with a force of about six hundred men. Two years were spent in exploring the country north of Florida and east of the Mississippi. The expedition could not move rapidly, as it had to time its progress with that of a

drove of several hundred pigs which were taken to keep off famine. They reached "the great water" in May, 1541, and crossed it at a point near the present city of Memphis. A journey was made into the present state of Arkansas, where at one place de Soto's men were but a few days' march from Coronado's troops. An Indian woman whom they met told them she had left Coronado's army only nine days before.

De Soto, weakened by exposure, died in May, 1542, and his body was buried in the waters of the Mississippi. His followers made their way to Mexico, which they reached in September, 1543. "Thus ended," says Professor Bourne, "the most remarkable exploring expedition in the history of North America."

FRENCH EXPLORATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

22. The Explorations of Verrazano. — The French were first attracted to America by the fisheries of the North Atlantic. Fishermen from Normandy and Brittany arrived in Newfoundland as early as 1504, and thereafter every year great numbers of them came to the North American waters. The first French attempt at exploration in North America was made by Verrazano, a native of Florence, who was sent out in 1524 by Francis I, King of France, to find a northwest passage to India. He explored the Atlantic coast and entered the harbors of New York and Newport.

23. Cartier Visits the St. Lawrence. — Jacques Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, the home of many of the fishermen who came to Newfoundland, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534 in search of a westerly passage to the East. The next year he returned and ascended the St. Lawrence River

to Lachine Rapids at the head of navigation. The great hill beside the rapids he called Mount Royal, a name perpetuated in the city of Montreal. He passed the winter near the present site of Quebec and then returned to France.



JACQUES CARTIER

24. The French in Florida.

— Jean Ribaut, a capable mariner, was sent out in 1562 by Coligny, the leader of the French Protestants, to find a location for a colony in America. He reached the

mainland in Florida and explored the coast for some distance to the northward. Thirty men were left at Port Royal Sound, near the modern town of Beaufort, South Carolina, to hold the country for France, but the garrison soon abandoned the place and sailed for France in a vessel of their own construction. In 1564 another attempt at colonization was made by French Protestants, this time on St. John's River, Florida. The next year this settlement was ruthlessly destroyed by Menendez, the Spanish governor of Florida.

25. The French in the North. — French fishermen continued to visit Newfoundland and the St. Lawrence, but, owing to civil wars at home, it was not until the early years of the seventeenth century that the work of colonization was taken up in earnest. Sieur de Monts, a Frenchman who had great influence with his king, Henry IV, received authority to colonize and govern the land of Acadia, a vast region extending from the fortieth to the forty-sixth parallel

of latitude; that is, from southern Pennsylvania to northern Nova Scotia. He was at the same time granted complete control of the fur trade in his new lands. De Monts came to America in 1604 and made a settlement on the St. Croix River near the present boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, but the next year he moved across the Bay of Fundy to Port Royal, now Annapolis, Nova Scotia.

26. The Founding of Quebec. — With de Monts' expedition was Samuel de Champlain, who had already made several voyages to America.

Being of an energetic disposition, he undertook the exploration of the coast as far south as Cape Cod and entered Plymouth harbor, naming it Port St. Louis. In 1608 he ascended the St. Lawrence and established a fort on the present site of Quebec as a center for the fur trade and his great work of exploration.



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

27. Champlain and the Iroquois. — The next year (1609), in company with an Indian war party, he ascended the Richelieu River, and, on the shores of the beautiful lake which now bears his name, took part in an attack on the Iroquois Indians. His gun helped greatly in deciding the day against the Iroquois, but his success was unfortunate for the French interests in North America. The defeated Iroquois ever afterwards felt an intense hatred for the French and readily formed an alliance with the English against them. (Sec. 96.)



FRENCH EXPLORATIONS

Before his death in 1635, Champlain made many exploring expeditions far into the interior. One of his agents, Jean Nicolet, went as far west as Wisconsin and made trading agreements with the Indians of that region. The rich fur trade proved very attractive to the French, and the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River formed an excellent highway for the exchange of goods with the natives.

Vocabulary

Explain as fully as possible the meanings of the following:

arbitrator	exploit	league	parallels of latitude
aborigines	Holy Sepulcher	mutinied	permanent
demarcation	infidel	navigation	Venetian

Map Exercises

1. Make simple sketch maps and upon them locate the following:
Europe — Iceland, Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Marseilles, Montpellier, Nuremburg, Constance, Constantinople, Balkan Peninsula, Palos, Normandy, Brittany. *America* — Nova Scotia, San Salvador, Haiti, Cuba, Isthmus of Panama, Tampa Bay, Grand Cañon of the Colorado, Memphis, Straits of Magellan, Gulf of St. Lawrence, Great Lakes, Newfoundland, Cape Cod, Lake Champlain, Montreal, Quebec, Lachine Rapids, Richelieu River, St. Croix River, New Brunswick, Bay of Fundy, Port Royal. *Orient* — Ladrones, Philippine Islands, Calicut.
2. Trace on your map two routes from western Europe to India used by traders before the time of Columbus.
3. Indicate on the map the "line of demarcation."
4. What other places mentioned in the chapter do you think should be located on this map?

Questions

1. Why was Europe so tardy in sending expeditions westward?
2. Did the Northmen have any influence on the history of North America?
3. How was the attention of Europe turned toward America?
4. Explain briefly our system of reckoning time and the use of the term "century."

5. Why was trade between the East and the West important? Whom did it benefit? 6. What interfered with this trade? 7. Why did Spain and Portugal take the lead in finding new routes to India? 8. What was the interest of European Christians in the East? 9. Why were the journeys of Portuguese sailors along the African coast important to Columbus? 10. Was Columbus the first man to believe the earth round? 11. State the threefold object of Columbus. 12. What were the difficulties Columbus experienced on his first voyage? 13. What was accomplished by his second, third, and fourth voyages? 14. Describe a ship of the time of Columbus. 15. Explain the "line of demarcation." 16. What was the injustice in naming the new continent America? In what way is this a lesson in accuracy and responsibility? 17. What great thing did Columbus believe he had done? What had he actually done? 18. State two motives which prompted the French explorers? 19. Describe the location of Acadia? 20. Why was the enmity of the Iroquois aroused against the French? Why was this important? 21. How did the French make use of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence?

CHAPTER II

THE AMERICAN INDIANS

28. How the Indians Received Their Name. — When Columbus landed on San Salvador, he believed he had reached the Indies and so he called the people whom he found on the island Indians. People like those that Columbus found were widely distributed over our country when the early settlers came. Though they had many different languages and different ways of life, they looked much alike, having prominent cheek bones, dark-brown eyes, and coarse black hair. Their skin was usually brown, but in some tribes it was slightly yellowish. The men's faces were generally beardless, due to the custom of pulling out the hairs of the face. The Indians differed greatly in size, from the small Pueblos of the Southwest, who averaged about five feet, to the Cheyennes and other tribes of the plains, who were very tall.

29. The Mound Builders. — In many parts of our country, especially in the Mississippi Valley, there are mounds of great size and curious shapes. Conical mounds have been discovered eighty to ninety feet in height and three hundred feet in diameter. Sometimes the mounds look like animal forms. One of the most famous of these is the Serpent Mound in Adams County, Ohio, which is 1000 feet long. Some of the mounds were used for burial purposes, others

as fortifications, but of some the use is unknown. In some pottery of good design, axes, rings, and bracelets of beaten copper have been found. Because of the excellence of the work in many cases, it used to be thought that the mounds and the things they contained must be the work of a superior race that preceded the Indians in America. But careful exploration has revealed articles of European origin in some of the mounds, showing that mound-building was still going on after the discovery of America. Besides, work as skillful as that found in the mounds has been done by Indian tribes of Mexico, and it may be that the ancestors of some of the Mexican Indians once lived in the Mississippi Valley.

30. The Eastern Indians. — The Indians who played the most important part in the early history of our country were those east of the Mississippi River. With few exceptions, they may be divided into three groups, the most powerful of which were the Iroquois, who held the country around lakes Erie and Ontario, the greater part of New York, and eastern Pennsylvania. They included the famous Five Nations' Confederacy of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas. After 1715 the confederation was known as the Six Nations, the Tuscaroras of North Carolina having migrated to the north to join their Iroquois kindred. The powerful Cherokee tribe in northern Georgia and Alabama was related to the Iroquois.

From the Cherokee country to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, the land was occupied by the southern or Maskoki group of Indians, the principal tribes being the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles.

The third great group was that of the Algonquins, who occupied the Atlantic coast region from the Carolinas to

Labrador and nearly all of the Ohio Valley, as well as the country around Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, thus completely surrounding the main body of the Iroquois. The Indians with whom the English settlers came in contact in the first years of colonial history were mainly of the Algonquin group.

31. Food and Dwellings of the Indians. — The Indian was a hunter or fisherman wherever possible, but the natives east of the Mississippi tilled the soil to some extent. They cultivated maize, or Indian corn, beans, squash, and tobacco, and made sugar from the maple sap. Their only domestic animal was the dog. Some tribes ate dog flesh, but in general the Indian had to get his supply of animal food by capture. The deer in the eastern forest region was hunted with bow and arrow, not only for its meat but for the skin, which was used as the chief material for clothing. On the plains the buffalo supplied meat as well as hides for robes and tepee coverings.

When de Soto visited the Cherokees, he found them living in permanent log houses; and some of the southwestern Indians had dwellings of stone, but usually the Indian's house was not well built. The eastern Indian often lived in a small hut or wigwam, the frame of which was made of saplings set in the ground and bent together at the tops. Over this frame a network of flexible branches was woven and the whole covered with bark or mats woven of grass. The Iroquois lived in their famous "long houses," which were often nearly a hundred feet in length and from fifteen to twenty feet in width. A passageway ran from one end to the other, with the family compartments on either side. Fires were made in the passageway, so that one fire would serve the needs of two families. Holes in the roof per-

mitted the smoke to escape. In the upper lake and plains region, the Indian's dwelling was usually the conical tepee. The frame of light poles was tied together at the top and covered with bark or buffalo skin. The tepee could be

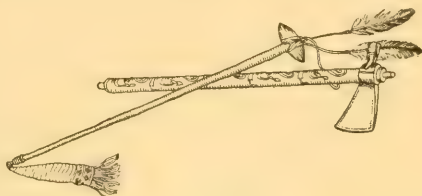


AN INDIAN WIGWAM

moved readily from place to place. Two women could take it down or set it up in an hour.

32. Indian Industries. — The Indian had a great deal of skill in certain lines of work. He had to depend chiefly on the skins of animals for clothing and learned to prepare these so as to make them wonderfully soft and well adapted to his purpose. Pottery was another Indian art, especially practiced in the Southwest. The weaving of baskets and mats was a widespread industry. In the Southwest the natives wove cotton cloth, and, after the Franciscan missionaries had made them acquainted with sheep, they wove material from wool.

The Indian craftsman made many instruments of peace and war. The snowshoe permitted him to travel rapidly in the deep snows of the northern winter. He traveled readily by water in his bark canoe, made so light that it could be carried around falls and rapids or from one stream to another at the portages. The characteristic weapon of the Indian was the bow and arrow. The tomahawk or stone-headed club was a common weapon of war, and after the coming of the whites steel hatchets were used.



INDIAN WEAPONS

The Indians made articles of personal adornment from clam shells and other shells, which they called wampum. Sometimes beads were made of the shells. Belts wrought of beads, often of elaborate workmanship and highly valued, were used to pay tribute and as money in exchanging goods.

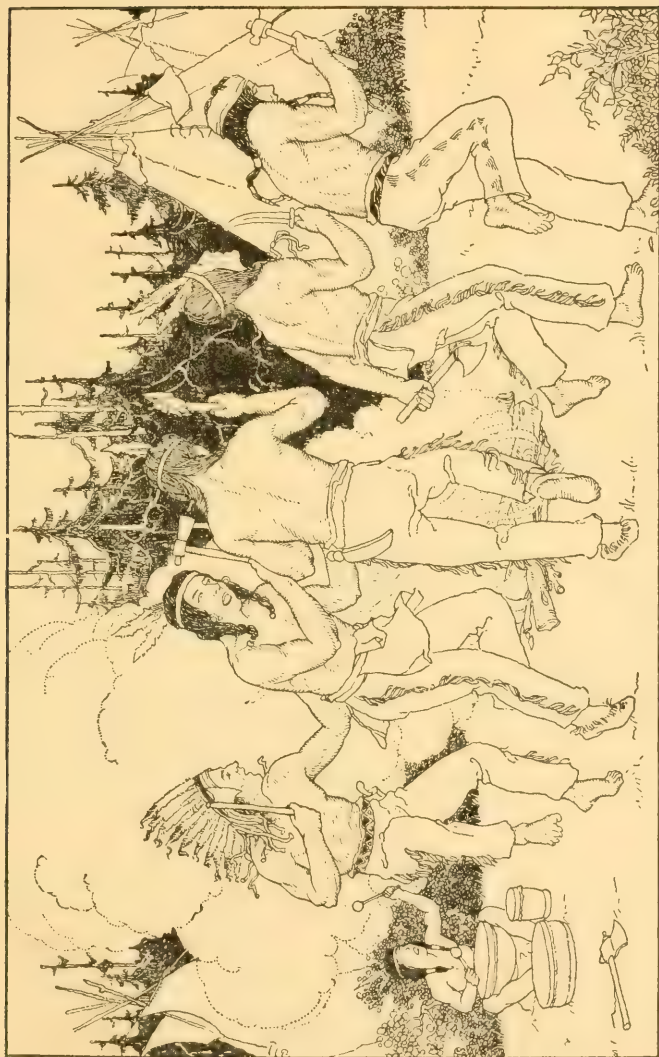
33. Indian Society. — The Indian tribe was usually made up of clans or groups of families. All the members of a clan were supposed to be descended from a common ancestor, usually a woman, and often the clan bore the name of a plant or animal, to which relationship was claimed. The clan usually acted together in war, but there was no way to force an individual to take part in a warlike expedition if he did not care to. This was one of the chief weaknesses of the Indians when they had to fight the whites. The clan was governed by a chief, or sachem, who was usually chosen by the adult men and women of the clan and could be deposed by them. He presided over the meetings of the clan and had a right to sit with the heads of other clans in the

council. In times of war, or other crises, special chiefs might be chosen whose authority ceased when the crisis was passed. Property was held in common by the clan, an arrangement that prevented poverty.

34. The Religion of the Indian. — The Indian believed that every plant, animal, or other object of nature had a spirit. The spirits of both man and the lower animals were thought to exist after death and to have an interest in the affairs of the living. The religious ceremonies of the Indians were chiefly concerned with gaining the good will of these spirits. Supplications took the form of dancing and dramatic performances. In some cases sacrifices were offered; in Mexico human beings were the victims. If an Indian secured the constant aid of a powerful spirit, he became a shaman, or “medicine-man,” and was called upon to treat the sick.

The Indians believed that the soul of the dead lived on and had needs similar to those of the body when living. On this account various offerings were made at the grave, and the personal belongings of the dead were often buried with him.

35. Relations between the Indians and the Whites. — The first white men in America learned many things from the Indian. The savage often saved them from famine. He taught the white man the use of corn, a food product of the greatest value in colonial days as well as now. The white man soon learned that this valuable food could be grown without clearing the land. He learned from the Indians to kill trees by “girdling” them, and to plant corn in the midst of the forest. Tobacco, another gift of the Indian, was of the highest value to the early colonists, giving them a commodity that soon commanded high prices in Europe



AN INDIAN WAR DANCE

and that could be used to buy the necessities of colonial life.

Vocabulary

clan	dramatic	saplings	supplications	tomahawk
confederation	sachem	shaman	tepee	wampum

Questions

1. How would you recognize an Indian? 2. If there are any Indian mounds in your locality, learn what you can of them. 3. Name and locate the three main groups of Eastern Indians. 4. Which of the three was important in early colonial history? Why? 5. Describe three kinds of Indian homes. What are the advantages of our homes over the Indians'? Of theirs over ours? 6. What products of Indian industry have you seen? Describe them. 7. How did the Indians buy and sell? 8. Describe some of the religious ceremonies of the Indians. 9. Was their religion in any respect like Christianity?

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY MISSIONARIES

THE SPANISH MISSIONS

36. Missions in the Southwest. — Father Marcos of Niza, a Franciscan, was the first white man to visit the Indians of Arizona and New Mexico (1539). Two years later,



AN OLD SPANISH MISSION

in 1541, Franciscans accompanied Coronado's army to New Mexico, and remained in the country to evangelize the natives. Of this missionary group, Father Juan de Padilla and Father Juan de La Cruz and a lay brother, Luis de Escalona, were murdered by the Indians, a tragedy which postponed further missionary efforts in the Southwest for forty years.

37. The Florida Missions. — The first permanent establishment of the Christian religion, in what is now the United States, was effected at St. Augustine, Florida, a city founded by the Spaniard, Menendez, in 1565. Father Lopez de Mendoza of the Dominican Order, who celebrated the first Mass in St. Augustine, on September 8 of that year, was appointed the first pastor of the parish by the Bishop of Santiago, Cuba. Efforts had been made to convert the natives by Father Luis Cancer de Barbastro and other Dominicans in 1549, but while they were making a landing near Tampa Bay, the missionaries were all put to death.

Spanish Jesuits arrived in Florida in 1566. Father Pedro Martinez, one of their number, was slain by the savages. Father Segura, another Jesuit, began a mission on Chesapeake Bay, where, after a brief success among the natives of that region, he too was killed.

The Franciscans entered the Florida mission field in 1577. In spite of a general massacre of the missionaries twenty years later, the work of evangelization was continued and before the middle of the seventeenth century thirty-five Franciscans in Florida directed forty-four missions with thirty thousand Christian Indians.

THE FRENCH MISSIONS

38. Missions in New France. — The work of spreading the Gospel among the natives of New France followed close upon the coming of the French. The French missionaries, in their efforts to convert the children of the forest to the Christian faith, traversed not only the lands of Canada but much of New England and the region of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. The missionaries taught the Indians the arts of civilized life as well as the truths of religion.

The letters of these missionaries and other writings describing their work on the missions are among our chief sources of information concerning a large part of North America at the time of the coming of the white man. A great collection of these writings, entitled *The Jesuit Relations*, has been published in over seventy volumes. The editor of this great work, Reuben Gold Thwaites, speaking of the deeds of the early missionaries, says:

With heroic fortitude, often with marvelous enterprise, they pierced our wilderness while still there were but Indian trails to connect far-distant villages of semi-naked aborigines. They saw North America and the North Americans practically in the primitive stage. Cultivated men, for the most part, — trained to see as well as to think, and carefully to make record of their experiences, — they left the most luxurious country in Europe to seek shelter in the foul and unwelcome huts of one of the most wretched races of men. To win these crude beings to the Christian faith it was necessary to know them intimately, in their daily walks. No *coureur du bois*¹ was more expert in forest lore than were the Jesuit fathers; and the records made by these soldiers of the Cross . . . are of the highest scientific value.

39. The Maine Missions. — The earliest of the French missions were among the natives of New Brunswick and Maine. In 1611 the Jesuit Fathers Biard and Massé arrived at Port Royal and undertook to learn the Indian languages in preparation for their work. Two years later they established themselves at Mt. Desert Island on the Maine coast, but a short time afterward, Argall, an Englishman from the recently established colony of Virginia, destroyed the settlement. Father Biard was taken to Europe, and Father Massé, who was set adrift in an open boat, was picked up by a French ship.

In 1619 the Franciscan Recollects began a mission in

¹ Trapper.

Nova Scotia but five years later withdrew to Québec. In 1634 the Jesuit Father Perrault established a mission on Cape Breton, and from this there developed a very successful work among the Micmacs, which was later aided by the Recollects and the Sulpicians of Quebec. Father Gabriel Druiellettes, a Jesuit, visited the country around the mouth of the Kennebec in 1646, and for eleven years successfully taught the Abnakis of that region. In 1650 he visited the English settlements of Massachusetts to discuss a proposal of union between New England and New France against the Iroquois.

The first Catholic church in New England was built at Oldtown, Maine, in 1688 by the Reverend Louis P. Thury. Among the noted missionaries of these early days was the Reverend Sebastian Rale, a Jesuit, who spent nearly thirty years among the Indians of Maine and compiled a dictionary of the Abnaki tongue. He was the trusted adviser of the Indians in the border troubles of the day and was killed by the English at his post of duty at Norridgewock in 1724.

40. Missions among the Hurons. — The Huron, or Wyandot, Indians, unlike the wandering tribes of the lower St. Lawrence, tilled the soil and had a fixed abode in the region east of Lake Huron. They were visited for a brief period in 1615 by the Recollect Father Le Caron. Other members of his order came to them in the following ten years, among them the lay brother, Gabriel Sagard, historian of the Recollect missions. In 1626 Father Brebeuf, a Jesuit, took up the work among the Hurons. His success was considerable, but while visiting Quebec in 1629 he fell into the hands of the English, who had taken that place. When Canada was returned to France by the treaty of St. Ger-

main (1632), the Jesuits were given entire control of the Indian missions.

In 1634 Father Brebeuf returned to his Hurons, accompanied by Fathers Davost and Daniel, and laid the foundation of what has been called the greatest Jesuit mission in the history of New France. Fathers Charles Garnier and Isaac Jogues, — both later to suffer martyrdom at the hands of the Indians, — and other priests were soon added to the staff of the mission. Buildings of a permanent character were erected and preparations made to carry the work of the missions far into the interior. In 1641 Fathers Raimbault and Jogues traveled as far west as Sault Sainte Marie, the outlet of Lake Superior. Other missionary journeys were made into the neighboring regions.

The promise of the great foundation among the Hurons was, however, cut short by the furious attacks of the Iroquois. In July, 1648, the chief town of the Hurons was destroyed and Father Daniel killed. The next year the war was renewed, and after cruel tortures Fathers Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalement met death at the hands of the Iroquois. The same year Fathers Chabanel and Garnier were killed by the savages. The Huron nation was almost annihilated, and the missions in which twenty-nine priests had been engaged had to be abandoned.

41. The Attempt to Establish Missions among the Iroquois. — Father Jogues was captured by the Iroquois in 1642 while on his way to secure supplies for the Huron missions. He was tortured, mutilated, and for thirteen months held as a slave at Auriesville about forty miles west of Albany on the Mohawk. René Goupil, a young physician who was with him, was put to death, but Father Jogues was rescued by the Dutch and taken to Europe. Four years

later (1646) he returned to the Iroquois on a peace mission which seemed successful. But later in the same year, when he appeared among them as a missionary, he was horribly beaten and cut with knives and finally killed near Lake George. Some years afterward other attempts were made to convert the Iroquois, but in 1658 the missionaries withdrew on account of a threat of a general massacre of the French.

Two years later, in 1660, a request came from the Iroquois for missionaries, and Father Le Moyne, who had already labored among them, answered the call. By 1668 a mission had been established in each of the five chief tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy, and the work promised success, when the growth of the English power in the Iroquois country compelled the missionaries to withdraw.

42. The Ottawa Mission. — The Ottawa Indians were the first of the tribes beyond Lake Huron to trade with the French and so their name was given to the whole region of the Upper Lakes. As we have seen, Fathers Jogues and Raimbault visited Sault Sainte Marie, the outlet of Lake Superior, in 1641. Nineteen years later Father Menard arrived in what is now Wisconsin to minister to Hurons who had fled from the Iroquois. He perished in the wilds of Wisconsin in 1661. Father Claude Allouez reached Chequamegon Bay, near the western end of Lake Superior, in October, 1665, where he built a chapel of bark for his Indian charges. For thirty years he labored among the Indians of the Upper Mississippi region, establishing missions at Green Bay, on the Miami, and, with Father Marquette, at Kaskaskia. Of Father Marquette we shall hear later.

Vocabulary

<i>coureur de bois</i>	martyrdom
evangelize	mission
lay brother	Sulpician

Map Exercises

Locate: Santa Fe, St. Augustine (Florida), Chesapeake Bay, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Kennebec River, Sault Sainte Marie, Lake George, Green Bay.

Questions

1. When was the Christian religion first established permanently in the present territory of the United States? 2. What missionaries labored among the Florida Indians in early days? 3. What twofold object had all missionaries to the Indians? 4. What is the importance of the records of these missionaries in the history of the United States? 5. Why were the missionaries obliged to learn the Indian tongues? 6. How did the enmity of the Iroquois affect the Huron missions in the West? 7. Who furnishes the greatest example of bravery among these early fathers? What prompted such bravery?

CHAPTER IV

THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA

43. The Exploits of Drake and Hawkins. — Although there are records of English voyages to Newfoundland in 1527 and 1535, and although English fishermen soon began to visit that island every summer in large numbers, these voyages did not lead to colonization.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

After the middle of the sixteenth century, however, the English became interested in America through contact with the rich Spanish possessions in the New World. Captain John Hawkins of Plymouth engaged in the slave trade between Africa and Haiti and shared the profits of his enterprise with Queen Elizabeth. His nephew, Francis Drake, who spent many years in plundering Spanish treasure ships carrying gold and silver from America, entered the Pacific Ocean in 1578, and sailed northward as far as Oregon. He landed on the California coast near San Francisco Bay and named the country New Albion. He returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope, — the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe. The exploits of Drake and Hawkins and other freebooters revealed to Englishmen

the great wealth that Spain was drawing from her American possessions and stimulated English interest in the New World.

44. The Work of Gilbert and Raleigh. — Sir Humphrey Gilbert, an Englishman who wanted to find a northwest passage to China, thought a colony in America would be a convenient base from which to make explorations. He made an unsuccessful attempt to cross the Atlantic in 1578, but five years later he reached Newfoundland, of which he took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth. Setting out to the southward to find a favorable location for his settlement, he lost two of his vessels. On his way back to England, the ship he was on went down and he perished.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Walter Raleigh, Gilbert's half-brother, now took up the work, and in 1584 sent out an expedition which discovered Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina. The next year a new expedition started out to explore the mainland near Roanoke Island with a view to permanent settlement. There was trouble with the Indians, and the members of the expedition were glad to go home with Drake, who happened to visit Roanoke in 1586. They took home with them two products of American soil — tobacco and the potato — which were to be of great importance in the world's commerce.

In 1587 Raleigh renewed his attempt at colonization. One hundred fifty persons, of whom twenty-five were

women and children, landed at Roanoke under the leadership of Governor John White. The governor soon felt compelled to return to England for needed supplies. When he got home, he found his country threatened by an invasion from Spain, and, though the great Spanish fleet, the Invincible Armada, was defeated in 1588, it was not until 1591 that White was able again to visit Roanoke. He found the fort in ruins and the island deserted; he never discovered the fate of his fellow colonists.

45. Voyages to the North Coast. — Interest in the lands beyond the Atlantic was increased by several voyages to the New England coast in the opening years of the seventeenth century. Bartholomew Gosnold reached the coast of Massachusetts in 1602. He built a trading post on an island off the coast and secured a valuable cargo of sassafras, which he took to England. The next year Martin Pring made a profitable voyage to Plymouth harbor, which he called Whitsun Bay. In 1605 George Weymouth explored the land in the vicinity of the Kennebec River. He saw the country in the summer time and returned home with most encouraging accounts of its climate and resources. His praises and the favorable reports of Gosnold and Pring helped the colonization movement in England. Peace had just been concluded with Spain, and many who had been engaged in war turned their attention to peaceful enterprises.

46. Why England Needed Colonies. — The early years of the seventeenth century were favorable to the work of American colonization because of conditions in England. Thousands of Englishmen left their native land to make homes in the New World.

1. The trade of England in wool and woollen goods had recently grown greatly in extent. High prices were paid

for these products, and many large landowners found they could make more money by turning their estates into sheep pastures than by renting for ordinary farming purposes. As a result many thousands of farmers and farm laborers and their families were driven from the country districts and compelled to seek a living in the towns. With so many out of work, beggary and thieving greatly increased. The government passed many laws to deal with the increased unemployment, poverty, and crime. When the planting of colonies in America offered a chance to rid the country of the poor and unemployed, the government was glad to assist in the work. Naturally, also, the poor were ready to go to America as colonists rather than suffer in the work-houses and prisons of England.

2. England's commerce by sea was growing so rapidly that there was great need of timber for ship-building. The early explorers had found in America valuable forests, which offered a reason for establishing colonies.

3. England was dependent on the countries of southern Europe for wines, fruits, and many other products. It was hoped that Englishmen could produce many of these things in colonies established in the New World.

4. As time went on, religious and political troubles in England made many anxious to leave the country and build up colonies on this side of the Atlantic.

Vocabulary

circumnavigate

freebooters

Whitsun

sassafras

workhouse

Map Exercises

Locate: Roanoke Island; San Francisco Bay.

Questions

1. What stimulated English interest in the New World in the sixteenth century? 2. Why did Raleigh's attempted colonies fail? 3. What classes of people in England were ready to come to America? Why?

CHAPTER V

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

VIRGINIA

47. The First Virginia Charter. — In 1606 a group of English merchants received from King James I a charter authorizing them to

found colonies in Virginia, as the whole region claimed by England in America was then called. The group was divided into two companies: one, made up chiefly of Londoners, was known as the London Company; the other, made up of men of Plymouth and other west of England towns, was known as the Plym-

outh Company. The London Company was free to choose a location between the thirty-fourth and the forty-first parallels of latitude; that is, anywhere from Cape Fear to the



LAND GRANTED TO THE LONDON AND PLYMOUTH COMPANIES

Hudson River. The Plymouth Company was to choose a more northerly location between the thirty-eighth and the forty-fifth parallels; that is, from the Potomac to the Bay of Fundy. The grants overlapped from the Potomac to the Hudson, but if either entered this overlapping region the other would be excluded, because the colonies were required to be one hundred miles apart. Each company was to receive a tract one hundred miles along the coast and a hundred miles inland.

48. The Founding of Jamestown (1607).—In December, 1606, the London Company sent out one hundred twenty men in three ships under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, who reached Chesapeake Bay six months later. Passing up the James River, which they named in honor of the King, they made a landing about thirty miles from the mouth of the stream on a site easily defensible. By the middle of June a small fort was completed at the settlement, which they called Jamestown.

49. The Early sufferings of the Jamestown Colonists.—Life in the new land proved hard for the first settlers at Jamestown. The supplies they brought with them were insufficient; and, though the waters abounded in fish and the forests in game, these early colonists did not know the arts of the hunter and the fisherman. The Indians resented their coming and were not disposed to give them food. The situation they chose was unhealthful, and malaria and other fevers soon appeared among them. Their dwellings were rude huts and holes in the ground. More than half their number had died when Captain Newport, who had sailed to England, returned in January, 1608, with supplies.

The colonists were not given separate pieces of land of their own to cultivate, but were required to work as the

officers of the company directed. They were fed and clothed from the company's stores and whatever they produced went to the company. The merchants who had put their money in the enterprise wanted immediate returns; so, of those who were able to work, some were kept busy cutting cedar and walnut trees for shipment to England, while others were sent prospecting for gold. During the first year only four acres were planted with corn.

50. The Work of Captain John Smith. — Matters improved somewhat the second year when Captain John Smith was given charge of the colony. He won the goodwill of the Indians and traded with them for food supplies. He procured good drinking water for the town and cleared and planted forty acres of land with Indian corn. Unfortunately an injury received from an explosion of gunpowder compelled him to return to England in October, 1609.



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

51. The "Starving Time." — Under Smith's successor matters grew worse. The hundreds of new colonists who had come out from England were furnished with supplies for only a few months at most. During the winter following Smith's departure twenty-eight men, sent to trade with the Indians, were surprised and killed by the savages. The natives carried off the pigs from the settlement, and made it dangerous for the colonists to leave the protection of the fort. The corn supply failed, the horses and dogs were killed for food, and even the dead body of an Indian was eaten. Out of five hundred persons in the colony in the

summer of 1609, only sixty were living in May, 1610. The survivors decided to return to England, but, before the ships on which they embarked could leave the river, a new governor, Lord Delaware, arrived with additional colonists and supplies. Jamestown was reoccupied after one day's absence.

52. The Charter of 1609. — In spite of unfavorable reports from Virginia, many people in England were determined that the colony should not fail. Men from every class of society, including many of the most famous Englishmen of the time, bought shares of stock in the company, which, by a new charter granted in 1609, received a large increase of land. Its territory was now to extend along the coast two hundred miles south of Point Comfort at the mouth of the James and two hundred miles north of that place, and "up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest."

The colony was to be ruled by a governor, who was given almost absolute power. He was able to set up military trials instead of trial by jury, and could inflict terrible punishments for small offenses. Disrespect for those in authority could be punished by death for the third offense. Profane language also was punishable by death for the third offense. Failure to attend church services daily might bring upon the offender six months in the galleys, and repeated absence from the Sunday services was punishable by death. The charter forbade Catholics to enter the colony.

53. Land Rented to the Colonists. — In 1614 the colonists were given opportunity to rent small tracts of land from the company and raise their own food. The diligent workers were able to profit by their labors and the idle were compelled to work. Although heavy rents were charged,

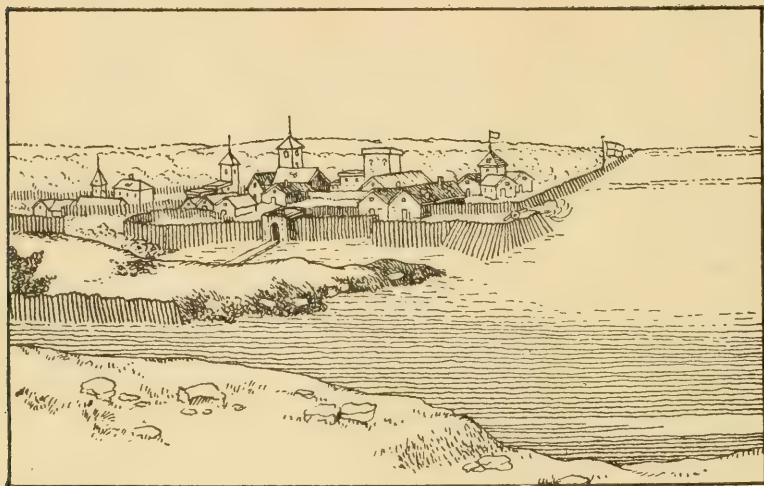
the plan was a success from the beginning. Before it had been in operation a year, the governor's secretary was able to write "when our people were fed out of the common store and labored jointly in the manuring of ground and planting corn . . . the most honest of them would not take much faithful and true pains in a week as now he will do in a day."

54. How the Cultivation of Tobacco Enriched the Colony.

— The use of tobacco had been popularized in England by Sir Walter Raleigh, whose colonists had brought it home from Roanoke. The soil and climate of Virginia were well adapted to the growth of this plant, and its cultivation was begun as early as 1612 by John Rolfe, who married Pocahontas, a daughter of the powerful Indian chief Powhatan. Tobacco brought a very high price on the London market, a pound sometimes selling for as much as twelve dollars in present money values. Sixteen pounds of tobacco were worth as much as a good horse. The government at home tried to discourage the sale of tobacco for a time, and the London Company wanted the colonists to engage in the production of silk, wine, flax, and other things for which there had long been a market in England. But the demand for tobacco proved more powerful than the wishes of the King or the company, and the Virginians found open to them a great source of wealth.

55. The Labor Supply; Slavery. — Fortunes were accumulated in a few years by large numbers of planters, and many new settlements were made. So great a demand for laborers arose that special arrangements were made to bring them from England. Persons too poor to pay their way to Virginia would agree to serve a planter for a term of years, usually five, in return for their passage across the ocean.

The agreements which they signed were known as indentures, and the laborers became known as indentured servants. Many thousands of them came to Virginia and other colonies. Often poor boys and girls were gathered up by the hundreds and turned over to the company. Prisoners were



JAMESTOWN IN 1622

taken from the jails, and workmen were kidnapped to supply labor for the colonies.

In 1619 twenty negro slaves were landed at Jamestown, probably the first in the colony. The demand for slaves on the tobacco plantations grew very rapidly in the later years of the seventeenth century, and by 1700 nearly one fourth of the population of Virginia was made up of negroes.

56. The Beginning of Self-government. — In order to promote emigration to Virginia, the company decided to make more liberal grants of land and to give the settlers a voice in the government. Sir George Yeardley, who came out

to Virginia in 1619 as governor, announced the new plan. Those who came before 1616 were to get one hundred acres of land; those who came after that date, if they paid their own way, were to get fifty acres.

Each of eleven settlements was asked to send representatives, or burgesses as they were called, to a general assembly at Jamestown. The burgesses together with the governor and his six councilors, who were appointed by the company, made up the legislature of the colony. The first meeting of the assembly took place July 30, 1619. It marked the beginning of representative government in America. The Virginia House of Burgesses became a great training school in political leadership, and many of the most famous men of Revolutionary times were members of it.

57. The Dissolution of the London Company. — The London Company had enemies at court who were anxious to destroy it. They called the king's attention to the great loss of life in the colony; three thousand persons died in Virginia from disease and starvation in the three years before 1622. In that year an Indian uprising cost the lives of nearly four hundred others. Therefore it was charged that the company could not protect its people, and suit was brought to annul its charter. The company was dissolved (1624) and the colony passed into the hands of the king.

58. Virginia as a Royal Province. — James I seems to have intended to destroy representative government in Virginia, but his death in 1625 prevented the completion of his plans. His son, Charles I, soon became involved in a quarrel with Parliament over questions of taxation and religion, and had little time to interfere with affairs in Virginia. The private property of the settlers in Virginia was not disturbed, but the ungranted lands of the company

were taken over as the property of the crown. Some of this land was later given to the Maryland colony and became a cause of dissension between that colony and Virginia.

59. The Cavaliers. — Civil war began in England in 1642 between King Charles and the dominant party in Parliament. The King's party was defeated after several years of fighting, and in 1649 the King was beheaded. Great numbers of his followers fled to Virginia, where they were welcomed by the governor, Sir William Berkeley, and other friends of the King. For many years they continued to come, and the population of Virginia increased from fifteen thousand in 1648 to thirty-eight thousand in 1670.

The Cavaliers, as the followers of Charles were called, were one of the most remarkable groups of immigrants that ever came to America. They were mainly substantial country gentlemen, well educated and of superior ability. Among them were the Lees, the Washingtons, the Randolphs, the Pendletons, the Madisons, the Monroes, the Marshalls, — names closely associated with the making of our country.

60. The Navigation Acts. — In order to build up English commerce and collect revenues, the government in England sought to prevent other nations from trading with the colonies. Colonial goods were to be carried in English ships and to English ports. If other nations wanted these goods, they could buy them only in England. At the same time the colonies must buy all their European goods in England and have them taken to America in English vessels. The laws which thus restricted colonial commerce were known as the Navigation Acts and were put in force in 1660 and 1663. Tobacco was already falling in price because of the vast increase in the area of cultivation. The Navigation Acts, by cutting off the market for Virginia tobacco in Hol-

land and other countries in Europe, further lowered the price. The loss to the men of Virginia was very great, for tobacco was their chief crop; many fell into debt and much ill-feeling was aroused against the government.

61. Bacon's Rebellion. — An Indian uprising in 1676 caused the death of thirty-six whites. When the governor refused to punish the savages, the people of Virginia, under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, took the matter into their own hands and inflicted a severe defeat on the Indians. But because Bacon had acted without official authority, Governor Berkeley declared him a rebel and set out to arrest him. Bacon captured Jamestown, burned part of it, and seemed on the point of overthrowing the government of Berkeley, when he was taken ill with fever and died in October, 1676. The governor returned to Jamestown and took revenge on the friends of Bacon by hanging thirteen leaders of the revolt. The story is told that when William Drummond, one of the Bacon leaders, was captured and brought before him, Berkeley said: "Mr. Drummond, you are welcome. I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour."

Berkeley was soon recalled to England. The governors who followed him did little to pacify the colony and the spirit of rebellion long remained among the Virginians.

MARYLAND

62. The Maryland Charter. — When the London Company lost its charter in 1624, the king took possession of its ungranted lands as the property of the crown (Sec. 58). When, therefore, George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, applied to Charles I for a grant of land in the old territory

of the company, the King felt free to make it. George Calvert died before the charter was issued and the grant was made to his son, Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore.

The territory of the grant was to be known as Maryland in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria, and was to include



GEORGE CALVERT, LORD
BALTIMORE

the present states of Maryland, Delaware, and a strip of southern Pennsylvania. Lord Baltimore and his heirs were given ownership of the land and extensive political powers. The proprietor could appoint the governor and other civil and military officers; he could coin money, levy import and export duties, and make war and peace. He was empowered to call an assembly of the people or their representatives to make laws for

the colony, laws to which the king's assent was not necessary. Moreover, the king gave up all right of taxation within the province.

63. Position of English Catholics. — In asking for the Maryland grant Lord Baltimore, who was a convert to the Catholic faith, wanted to establish a refuge for his co-religionists. At that time Catholics in England suffered many hardships. They were excluded from the learned professions, from public office, and from the army and navy. Priests were banished from the country and the death penalty was prescribed if they returned. Well-to-do Catholics could not travel over five miles from their estates without license and could be fined twenty pounds a month for not attending the services of the State Church. The king might seize two

thirds of a Catholic's lands and hold them till the owner conformed to the Established Church. A fine of a hundred pounds might be inflicted for sending a child out of the country to be educated, or for omitting to have a child baptized in accordance with Protestant forms.

64. The First Settlement in Maryland. — Cecil Calvert took up the work of colonization and in October, 1633, dispatched to America two vessels with about two hundred fifty persons on board. His brother, Leonard Calvert, was sent out as governor. With the expedition were two Jesuit priests, Fathers White and Altman. The ships entered the Potomac in the spring of 1634 and a landing was made on St. Clement's Island, where on March 25 Father White celebrated Mass. A site for a settlement was found at an Indian village about nine miles from the mouth of the St. George River, a tributary of the Potomac. Here land was purchased from the natives and the place renamed St. Mary's. The location proved healthful and the colony escaped the diseases that had killed so many at Jamestown. Land was granted to individuals, and fields of corn and tobacco were planted at once. Thus the colony escaped a "starving time."

The colony's relations with the Indians were friendly at the outset and generally remained so. The conversion of the natives was undertaken by the priests. Father White compiled a grammar and dictionary of the Piscataway tongue and wrote a catechism in the same language.

65. The Toleration Act. — In his instructions to his brother when sending him out to America, Lord Baltimore counseled the avoidance of religious controversy and urged him "to treat the Protestants with as much mildness as justice will require." This policy of religious toleration

was formally enacted into law by the Maryland Assembly. In an act passed in 1649 it was provided that no person "professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall from henceforth, be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for, or in respect of, his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof within this province . . . nor any ways compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent." Jews and other non-Christians were not included in the scope of the act. An attempt was also made in the act to discourage religious bitterness by providing a fine of ten shillings or a whipping for any one who should call another "an heretic, Schismatic, Idolator, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, popish priest, Jesuit, Jesuited papist," or any one of half a dozen other terms of somewhat similar import.

66. Civil War in Maryland. — The great civil war in England between King and Parliament had an echo in the province of Maryland. Governor Calvert favored the King's party, though Lord Baltimore at home seems not to have been zealous in the royal cause. Under the leadership of Captain Richard Ingle, who had a commission from Parliament, a revolt took place in Maryland in 1645. The governor was driven out and the town of St. Mary's plundered. Father White was taken to London in chains, where he was indicted as a returned Jesuit, but escaped on the plea that his return was involuntary. After two years Leonard Calvert was restored as governor, but he died soon after and his brother thought it prudent to appoint a Protestant governor, Captain William Stone, a Virginian.

67. Toleration Act Repealed. — In 1652 the government of the Commonwealth in England took the political control of Maryland out of Lord Baltimore's hands, but left him his property rights. The men who now came into control in

the province repealed the Toleration Act and passed a new measure which provided among other things, "That none who profess and exercise the Papistic, commonly known as the Roman Catholic, religion can be protected in this province." Adherents of the Church of England were also denied the protection of the laws. Chapels and missions were destroyed, and one only of the four priests who had labored in the province was allowed to remain.

Lord Baltimore's government was restored to him in 1658 and the Toleration Act was again put into force. The colony now grew rapidly, in spite of political differences between the proprietor and the colonists. The Baltimore family retained its rights until the English Revolution of 1689. That movement, which drove James II from the English throne, also put an end to Maryland as a Catholic enterprise. The Baltimores again lost the right of governing the province; the English Church was set up as the official church, and the unjust English laws against Catholics were put in force in Maryland. In 1715 the fifth Lord Baltimore, having renounced the Catholic faith, was given control of the province which then remained in the family until the colonies declared their independence. The laws concerning religion remained in force down to Revolutionary times, and many Catholics sought refuge under the milder rule of Pennsylvania and in the newer settlements west of the Alleghanies.

THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA

68. The Grant of Carolina. — In 1663 Charles II gave to a number of his friends a vast territory south of Virginia. By a charter of that year and one of two years later, he granted them the lands between 29° and $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The

powers given the proprietors of Carolina, as the region was called, were similar to those given Lord Baltimore in Maryland (Sec. 62). Soon after receiving their lands the proprietors undertook to colonize them, but it was not until 1670 that their first permanent settlement was made. In that year men from England and the island of Barbados established themselves near the present site of Charleston, South Carolina.



CHARLES II

Before the Carolina charter was granted, men from Virginia had made two settlements, one in 1653, the other in 1662, on Albemarle Sound within the region which later became known as North Carolina.

69. The Carolinas Become Royal Provinces. — The northern and southern settlements continued for many years to be separated from each other by two hundred miles of unoccupied territory, and in 1713 the province was definitely divided into North and South Carolina, each with its own government. Soon afterwards difficulties with their colonists made the proprietors anxious to sell their interests. The land of most of the proprietors was purchased by the crown, and after 1729 both the Carolinas were governed as royal provinces.

Slavery grew rapidly in South Carolina, where the plantation system flourished. Rice had early been introduced into that colony and soon became the chief product. Its cultivation led to a great demand for negro labor and, by the middle of the eighteenth century, South Carolina had

twice as many slaves as freemen. Conditions were different in North Carolina, which was largely a region of small farms. Its chief products for export were naval stores — tar, pitch, and turpentine.

70. The Founding of Georgia. — The southernmost of the original thirteen colonies was established in 1733 by James Oglethorpe and his associates, who founded Savannah in that year. They were interested in relieving the sufferings of poor persons in England who were imprisoned for debt, and their first colonists were of that class. The King, George II, who wanted an outpost against the Spaniards in Florida, granted to Oglethorpe and his friends a charter for the province of Georgia, which was to include the country lying between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers.

Oglethorpe had to spend much of his time fighting the Spaniards. The dangers from this source kept the colony from growing very rapidly, and its founders, becoming discouraged, sold their rights to the King. From 1751 Georgia was a royal province.



JAMES OGLETHORPE

Vocabulary

authorize	indenture	proprietor
burgess	malaria	representative
heretic	Parliament	toleration

Map Exercises

1. Mark out on the Atlantic coast the grants to the London and the Plymouth companies.

2. Locate: Jamestown, St. Clement's Island, St. Mary's, Charleston, Savannah, Island of Barbados.

Questions

1. What privileges had settlers in colonies founded by the London and Plymouth companies?
2. State three difficulties which at first made Jamestown a failure.
3. What mistakes were made by the leaders before John Smith?
4. Give the date of the second charter to London Company.
5. State the difference between a free laborer and an indentured servant. Were indentured servants desirable members of society?
6. Give two significant events of the year 1619.
7. What is the relation of the Virginia House of Burgesses to our national life?
8. How and why did Virginia become a royal province?
9. What was the king's attitude toward self-government in the province?
10. In what great struggle was England engaged during the first half of the seventeenth century? How did this struggle affect the fortunes of Virginia?
11. Why did the Navigation Acts work hardship in the colony?
12. Give the cause for Bacon's Rebellion.
13. Name the first proprietor of Maryland and state his powers.
14. How were Catholics persecuted in England?
15. How were the mistakes of Jamestown avoided in the founding of St. Mary's?
16. How and why was the colony made anti-Catholic?
17. In what two respects is the early history of the Carolinas like that of Maryland?
18. What products made the wealth of the Carolinas? Why did slavery flourish in South Carolina?
19. State the purpose of the founders of Georgia.
20. Who were their neighbors on the south?

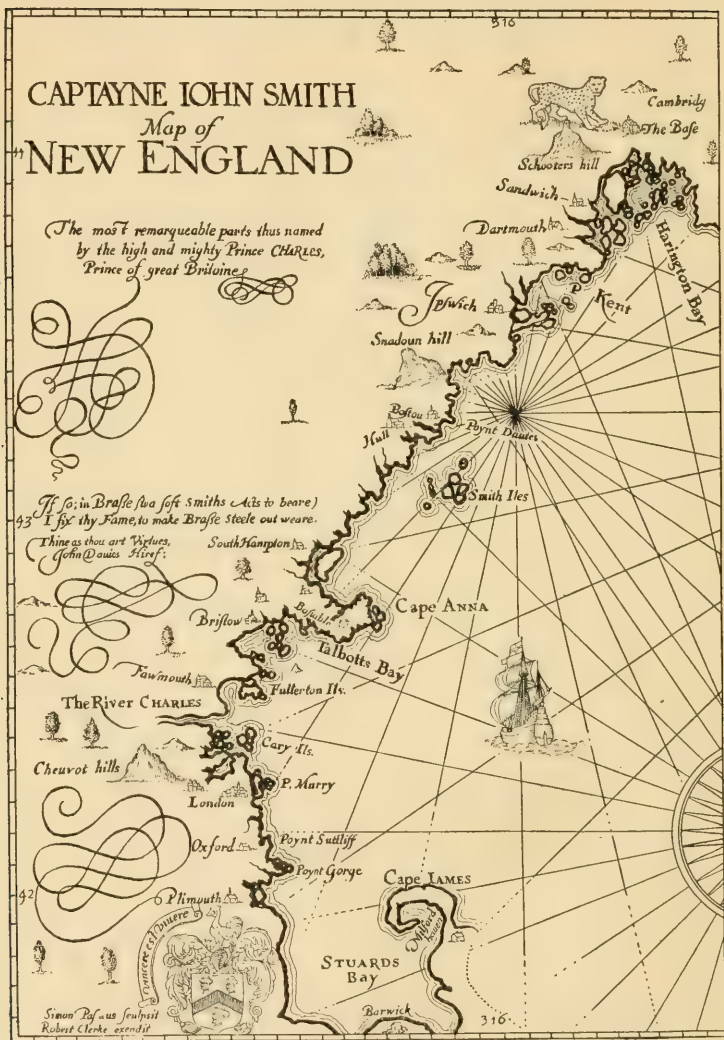
CHAPTER VI

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

PLYMOUTH

71. Early Attempts at Settlement. — The charter which authorized the London Company to colonize Virginia, also, as we have seen (Sec. 47), authorized the Plymouth Company to found colonies on the North Atlantic coast of what is now the United States. The same year that Jamestown was founded (1607), the Plymouth Company sent out an expedition, which made a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec River. The settlers were unprepared for the severe winter of that region. George Popham, the leader, died, and the discouraged colonists returned to England in 1608. After this failure, no attempt at settlement was made for some years, but English vessels continued to visit the north coast for fishing and trading with the Indians. Captain John Smith took part in a voyage to the Plymouth Company's lands in 1614. He made a map of the region and was the first to call it New England.

The success of the Jamestown settlement revived the interest of the Plymouth Company in colonization. In 1620 some of the members obtained a new charter, by which they were given all the land of North America between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels and from the Atlantic



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S MAP OF NEW ENGLAND

to the Pacific. The company was now called "the Council for New England." Before it was able to take up the work of colonization, a permanent settlement was made in New England by a wholly different group of Englishmen known as the Pilgrims.

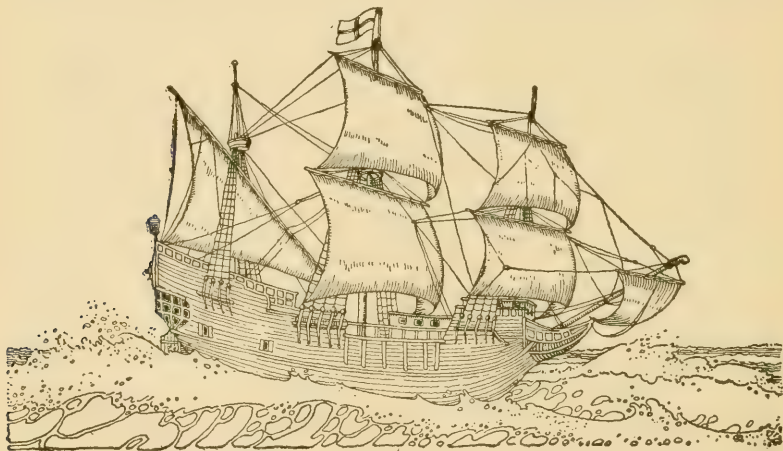
72. The Separatists. — To understand why the Pilgrims came to New England it will be helpful to take a brief glance at the religious situation in England at the time. In the year 1559 Queen Elizabeth had Parliament pass a law, known as the Act of Uniformity, which was intended to make unlawful in England any other public worship than that of the official Protestant Church. The act was aimed at Catholics, but its provisions soon affected certain classes of Protestants who were dissatisfied with the ceremonies and government of the English Church. They wanted to do away with the sign of the cross in Baptism, with the ring in the marriage ceremony, and with the minister's surplice. Some wanted to discontinue the Book of Common Prayer, which contained the order of the public service of the Church, and to abolish the office of bishop. This growing body of Protestants, dissatisfied with the Established Church, became known as Puritans, of whom there were two main groups. The first wanted to remain inside the Church but to have it accept their ideas; these were known as Low-churchmen. The second group wished to set up independent religious societies and to separate themselves from the Church; they were known as Independents or Separatists.

73. The Wanderings of the Separatists. — Severely persecuted in England, many of the Separatists fled to Holland. Among the exiles was a congregation from the English village of Scrooby, the members of which settled at Leyden.

After twelve years among the Dutch, the leaders of the congregation decided to seek a new home in America.

They secured from the London Company a grant of land and a charter of government, and from some English merchants money to fit out an expedition.

74. The Founding of Plymouth.—In the summer of 1620, having gone from Holland to England, the Pilgrims,



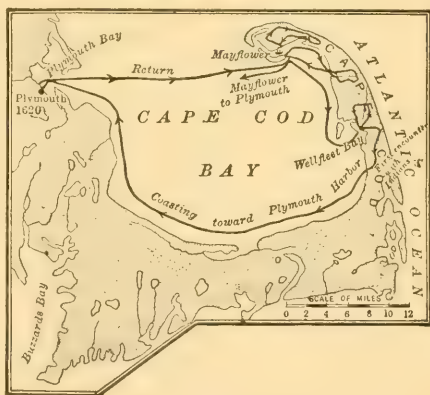
THE MAYFLOWER

to the number of about one hundred, set sail in the *Mayflower* from Plymouth. Since they had a land grant from the London Company, it was their intention to reach some point south of the Hudson within that company's territory, but they lost their way in the stormy weather and in November reached the coast of New England. The winter was already upon them, and they decided to make a permanent home in the region where accident had brought them. After exploring the coast, they found a suitable harbor and a stream of fresh water at a place called Plymouth on

Captain John Smith's map (Sec. 71). Here they landed, December 21, 1620, and early in January began the erection of places of shelter. The winter was severe and half their number died before spring, but in spite of the great suffering none wished to return when the *Mayflower* sailed for England in April.

75. The Mayflower Compact. — The Pilgrims, having decided to settle within the territory of the Council for New England, had no legal government, as their charter had been granted by the London Company. Before leaving the *Mayflower*, therefore, they had signed an agreement to obey whatever regulations "shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony." John Carver was elected governor. He died the next spring and William Bradford, who has left a history of the colony, was chosen to succeed him. Bradford was annually re-elected to the governorship until his death in 1657, except for five years when he refused the office.

76. Why the Colony Grew. — Almost from the beginning the colony got on well with the natives, whose numbers had recently been greatly decreased by a pestilence. The governor early concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags. The colony was taught by friendly natives how



PLYMOUTH

to cultivate Indian corn, and a crop was harvested the first year.

The colonists started out with a system of labor in common and a common store as at Jamestown (Sec. 49), but in the third year, when a famine seemed likely, each family was given a tract of land to cultivate. The appeal to private interest was successful and famine never again threatened the colony.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

77. The Founding of Salem. — It has already been noted that English fishermen visited the New England coast even before the Plymouth settlement was made. A company of merchants, mostly from Dorchester, England, was interested in these fisheries and in 1623 decided to establish a colony in New England. A settlement, made at Cape Ann, flourished for three years, when the Dorchester company broke up and decided to take the colonists home. However, one of the partners, John White, wanted to keep the settlement going and prevailed upon five of the colonists to remain. The location at Cape Ann was unfavorable, and the little colony took up its residence on the present site of Salem.

White succeeded in interesting other merchants in his enterprise and formed the Company for Massachusetts Bay or the Massachusetts Company, as it is often called. In March, 1628, the company bought from the Council for New England the country between the Merrimac and the Charles rivers and west to the Pacific Ocean. A few months later a party of emigrants was sent out under John Endicott. There was some trouble between the newcomers and the earlier settlers, but it was soon adjusted and Endicott, in

memory of the event, called the place Salem, the Hebrew word for peace.

The next year (1629) Charles I gave the Massachusetts Company a charter which confirmed its title to the land it had bought and gave it authority to govern its settlers. The company appointed Endicott governor and during the summer sent out about four hundred persons to the colony at Salem.



JOHN ENDICOTT

78. The Cambridge Agreement. —

Most of the members of the Massachusetts Company were Puritans. Just at this moment church affairs in England were in the hands of Bishop Laud, their powerful enemy. The king supported the Bishop and sent many Puritan

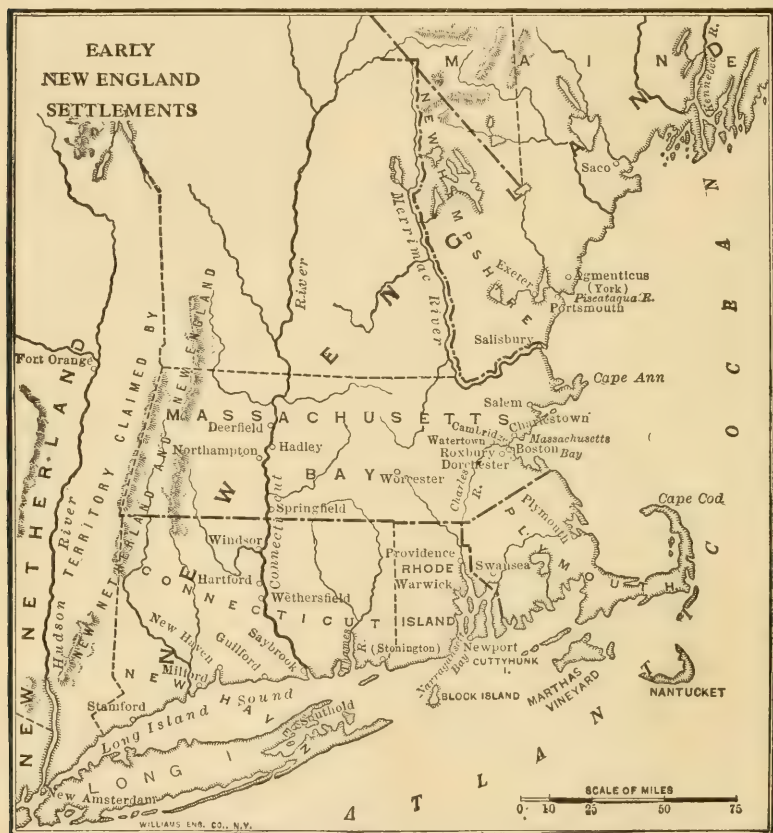
leaders to prison. Under these circumstances some of the leaders of the Massachusetts Company began to think of their lands in New England as a place of refuge. At a meeting at Cambridge in August, 1629, they agreed to emigrate to America with their families and to take the company's charter with them. Those officers of the company that did



JOHN WINTHROP

not want to leave England resigned and new men were chosen. John Winthrop was elected president and the next year led a great expedition to Massachusetts, where as head of the company he was also governor of the colony.

79. The Puritan Migration. — The removal of the company to America was followed by a great Puritan migration. Economic distress in England, as well as political and reli-



gious reasons, urged many to come. In 1630 two thousand persons arrived in Massachusetts and many towns were established, among them Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown.

There was much suffering among the newcomers and many died of disease and exposure, but the tide of immigration continued, with slight interruptions, for the next eleven years, and the population rose to about fifteen thousand persons. With the outbreak of the civil war in England in 1642 the movement ceased, and many of the Puritans from Massachusetts returned to take part in the struggle against the king.

80. The Government of the Colony. — The charter gave the control of the colony to the stockholders or freemen of the company. They were to choose the governor and his council and to make regulations for the conduct of the colony. Of these stockholders only twelve came to America and four of these soon died, leaving the government of the entire colony in the hands of eight men. In 1634, however, the people were given a voice in the government and the towns were permitted to send representatives to the General Court, as the legislature was called. The right of voting was limited to church members.

Later, in 1641, the people adopted a code of written laws known as the Body of Liberties. By its provisions many valuable personal rights were secured to the people, including freedom of speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest and punishment.

CONNECTICUT AND RHODE ISLAND

81. The Founding of Connecticut. — Men from Massachusetts were early attracted to the valley of the Connecticut River by its fertile soil and the opportunities it offered for engaging in the fur trade. Massachusetts traders were in this region as early as 1633, and three years later a colony

from Cambridge of about one hundred persons, men, women, and children, led by the Reverend Thomas Hooker, settled at Hartford. Other groups soon followed, making settlements at Windsor and Wethersfield.



EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN
THE CONNECTICUT
VALLEY.

A colony was established at New Haven in 1638 by Theophilus Eaton and the Reverend John Davenport. They proposed to take the Bible for their guide in political as well as in religious matters. Trial by jury, not being found in the Scriptures, was dispensed with, and political power was kept securely in the hands of church members.

In 1663 the Connecticut government secured a charter from Charles II, and all the settlements in the present state of Connecticut, including that at New Haven, were united under one government.

82. The Founding of Rhode Island by Roger Williams.—The Massachusetts government, as we have seen, was restricted to church members (Sec. 80). It was freedom for their own religion, not toleration of other religions, that had brought the Puritans to America. When, therefore, Roger Williams, pastor of the church at Salem, began to preach against the forms of worship used by the other ministers in the colony, he had trouble with the authorities. He denied the right of the Massachusetts government to punish men for not attending the church services and was reported also as saying that the Indians were the rightful owners of the soil of Massachusetts and the colonists were, therefore, robbers.

For these reasons the authorities decided to drive him from the colony. He escaped to the Narragansett Indians, from whom he secured a tract of land, and in the spring of 1636 founded the town of Providence, in the present state of Rhode Island, where he was soon joined by other persons who believed as he did.

A few years later (1638) Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who had also been driven from Massachusetts for religious reasons, settled with a group of her followers at Portsmouth, and the next year some of her people settled at Newport. In 1663 the Rhode Island settlements received from Charles II a charter which confirmed their land titles and assured them the right of self-government.

Religious toleration was the rule in Rhode Island from the beginning, and this wise arrangement was formally made a part of the colony's laws by the charter of 1663. Unfortunately, the colony later departed from its early attitude of tolerance and after 1719 Catholics as well as Jews were excluded from citizenship.

83. Massachusetts Expands to the North. — English settlements had been made as early as 1623 on the coasts of what are now New Hampshire and Maine. Nearly all of this region had been granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason in 1622. Later they divided it between them, Mason taking the territory west of the Piscataqua, which he called New Hampshire in memory of his own county Hampshire in England, and Gorges taking the lands east of the Piscataqua to which, for some reason now unknown, the name of Maine was given. Captain Mason died in 1635, and his heirs took no interest in the settlements that had been made. A few years later Gorges also died, leaving Maine without a head. Massachusetts, which

claimed much of the territory to the north, now took advantage of these circumstances to extend her authority over New Hampshire and Maine. New Hampshire was several times separated from Massachusetts and finally in 1751 became a royal province, which it remained until the Revolution. It was not until 1820 that Maine ceased to be a part of Massachusetts.

84. The New England Federation. — The advance of the whites to the west aroused the resentment of the Pequot Indians, who occupied the central part of the present state of Connecticut, and in 1637 war broke out. Men from Massachusetts and Connecticut, together with some friendly Indians, fell upon the Pequots and in two engagements almost completely wiped the tribe out of existence.

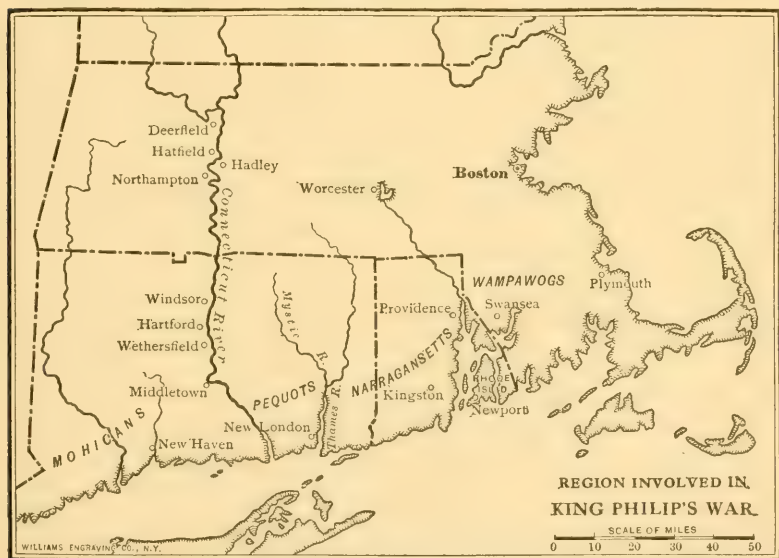
After the war, there was talk of a union between the two colonies that had joined in the conflict, but the matter was dropped. Soon the Connecticut colonists had trouble with the Dutch from New Amsterdam, now New York. The Dutch had established a trading post on the Connecticut before the arrival of the Massachusetts settlers, and they resented English interference with their fur trade. Indian tribes on the north and west were also giving trouble to Connecticut, and in 1642 that colony renewed its suggestion for a union with Massachusetts.

The next year (1643) Articles of Confederation were agreed to by the four colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven. This confederation, which lasted forty years, was important because it showed the colonies that they could unite in times of danger.

85. The Treatment of Quakers in Massachusetts. — It was the policy of Massachusetts to maintain religious uniformity in the colony. Therefore, when in 1656 two

members of the sect of Quakers appeared at Boston to preach their doctrines, they were banished. When others persisted in coming, the Puritan leaders became alarmed and made provision that the death penalty should be inflicted on Quakers returning to the colony after once being banished. In accordance with this law three Quakers were hanged. Other colonies treated the Quakers harshly, but it was only in Massachusetts that they were subjected to capital punishment.

86. King Philip's War. — The growth of the New England colonies pressed the Indians farther and farther from the



coast and showed the natives that they would soon lose their hunting grounds. In 1675 Philip, chief of the Wampanoags, son of Massasoit, became the leader of a general attack on the New England settlements. Frontier towns

were burned and many persons put to death. After nearly two years of war, Philip was slain, the power of the Indians broken, and settlements in the interior were made safe. But the colonists had lost heavily. Six hundred white men were killed in battle, thirteen towns were wiped out, and famine threatened for a time on account of the destruction of the crops.

87. Massachusetts Loses Its Charter (1684). — For a long while the King, who was busy with affairs at home, did not interfere with the Massachusetts colony. But from time to time complaints were made against the colony; the friends of Roger Williams, of Mrs. Hutchinson, and of the Quakers stirred up opposition in England for the Boston Puritans. Members of the English Established Church complained that their form of worship was not permitted in the colony. The King was angry because two of the judges who had condemned his father to death found shelter in Massachusetts. The English merchants and shipowners complained that foreign ships and cargoes were received at Boston in violation of the Navigation Acts (Sec. 60). For these reasons the King directed his attorney-general to bring suit for the annulment of the charter. The suit was successful and in 1684 the Massachusetts Bay Company and the government that was established by it ceased to exist.

88. The Rule of Andros. — Charles II died before the arrangements for the new government of Massachusetts were completed. His brother James II, who succeeded him, decided to unite New York and New England under a single government. More efficient enforcement of the Navigation Acts and better military defense against a threatened invasion of the French from Canada were among the reasons for this union. The King appointed Sir Edmund

Andros governor of the united colonies with authority to set aside, by force if necessary, the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut. These last-named colonies accepted the rule of Andros, though he did not get possession of their charters and in fact did not seriously interfere with their affairs.

In Massachusetts, however, he destroyed self-government and undertook to make laws and levy taxes without the consent of the people.



SIR EDMUND ANDROS

In the third year of Andros' administration the English revolution of 1689 drove James II from his throne. The people of Boston and neighboring towns revolted, seized the governor and put him into prison, where he remained for three years. They proclaimed the old charter in force and sent an agent to England to get the new king, William III, to confirm their action. The King refused, but in 1691 granted a new charter by which Massachusetts became a royal province. The King reserved the right to appoint the governor and to veto laws passed by the colonial legislature. The Plymouth colony was added to Massachusetts, whose right to Maine was also recognized.

89. The Witchcraft Delusion. — Shortly after the overthrow of the Andros government in Massachusetts, there broke out at Salem the notorious witchcraft delusion. There had recently been executions for witchcraft in England and much had been printed concerning witchcraft and the best methods of detecting it. The children of Samuel Parris, a minister of Salem, got hold of a book on the art of witchcraft and learned to ape the actions of bewitched persons

as described in the book. They then complained that certain persons in the village whom they disliked had bewitched them. Their stories created a panic in the minds of Salem people and the new governor, Sir William Phips, set up a special court to investigate the hundreds of cases of witchcraft that were reported. Before the panic ran its course (September, 1692) nineteen persons had been convicted and hanged, and one was pressed to death for refusing to enter a plea. Fifty-five confessed witches had been pardoned and a hundred fifty others were awaiting trial.

Other colonies suffered somewhat from the same delusion. Cases were reported from Virginia and Pennsylvania and an execution for witchcraft took place in Maryland.

Vocabulary

delusion	legislature
democratic	qualification
federation	witchcraft

Map Exercises

Locate: Leyden, Plymouth, Cape Ann, Salem, New Haven, Providence, Merrimac River, Charles River, Piscataqua River.

Questions

1. How did the New England colonies get their name? 2. Give the date and name of the first permanent settlement in New England. 3. Who were the Separatists? 4. What features made the *Mayflower* compact democratic? 5. What was the purpose of the Massachusetts Bay Colony? 6. What new element was added by the Puritans under Winthrop? 7. In what ways were Connecticut and Massachusetts related? 8. From what source did Roger Williams get his title to Rhode Island? What was his purpose? 9. What limits were placed on religious toleration in Rhode Island? 10. How did it happen that Maine and New Hampshire were joined to Massachusetts? 11. What

motives finally led to a union between the New England colonies? 12. Give four reasons why the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company was annulled in 1684. 13. Over what colonies was Sir Edmund Andros governor? 14. How did he show his tyrannical rule? 15. How was his tyranny finally overthrown? 16. Can you explain the witchcraft delusion?

CHAPTER VII

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

NEW YORK

90. **The Discovery of the Hudson (1609).** — The greatest of American cities owes its origin to the Dutch, who in the early years of the seventeenth century were, like the English and French, anxious to find a new waterway to

India and China. Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, entered in August, 1609, the river which now bears his name. Searching for a passage to the Pacific he sailed his ship, the *Half Moon*, up the Hudson past the present site of Albany. He established friendly relations with one of the tribes of the Iroquois Indians a few months after Champlain had



HENRY HUDSON

engaged in a conflict with another Iroquois tribe a short distance to the north on Lake Champlain (Sec. 27). The next year Dutch fur traders appeared on the Hudson and centers of trade were soon established on Manhattan Island and near Albany, at the head of navigation for the sea-going vessels of the time.

91. Settlers on Manhattan Island. — Settlers came to Manhattan Island in 1623 under the direction of the Dutch West India Company, which had been organized two years before. The early settlers were largely from the Walloon provinces of The Netherlands, — Belgians they would now be called. Besides settling Manhattan Island, the colonists of 1623 made settlements on the Connecticut and Delaware rivers. Three years later Peter Minuit arrived as governor of the Dutch possessions in America. He bought the island of Manhattan from the Indians with twenty-four dollars' worth of goods, and began to organize his government and build a fort on the present site of New York. The colony came to be known as New Netherland, and the town as New Amsterdam.

92. The Growth of the Colony under the Patroon System. — The fur trade paid well but settlers did not come in large numbers. In order to get colonists without cost to itself, the company offered an extensive tract of land to each of its members who in four years should bring at his own expense fifty families to New Netherland. He would also receive the title of patroon and have considerable powers of government over the people on his estate both in civil and criminal matters. The company also undertook to furnish negro slaves as laborers. Many members of the company hastened to take advantage of the offer and the best lands along the Hudson were soon occupied.

93. War with the Indians. — In New Netherland, as elsewhere in America, the extension of the white settlements led to conflicts with the natives. As soon as the hunting grounds of the Indian were threatened, he had to fight or starve. The conflict with the Dutch was hastened by the massacre in 1642 of one hundred ten Algonquin Indians

who had taken refuge from the Iroquois, the outrage being committed across the Hudson from New Amsterdam by Dutch soldiers under orders from Governor William Kieft. The fighting continued at intervals for nearly four years, and after severe losses on both sides, peace was made in 1646. It was during this war that the settlers, in order to protect their homes and fields, built a strong fence or wall across Manhattan Island near the present Wall Street.

94. Governor Stuyvesant's Rule. — The colonists blamed Governor Kieft for the losses caused by the war, and in answer to their petition a new governor, Peter Stuyvesant, was sent over in 1647.



PETER STUYVESANT

The position of governor of New Netherland was very difficult at this time, for the Dutch colony, besides being an important trading center, was becoming a meeting-place for the discontented of other colonies and of Europe. Father Jogues, who visited New Amsterdam in 1643 after his rescue from the Iroquois (Sec. 41), found four hundred persons in the town and eighteen languages spoken there. Drunkenness and disorder were

common, and the most vigorous efforts of Stuyvesant were unable to cope with the situation.

He added to his troubles by an attempt to suppress religious meetings other than those of the Dutch Reformed Church. A penalty of a hundred pounds was prescribed for a clergyman holding a forbidden meeting and twenty-

five pounds for a layman attending. His wrath fell heavily on the Quakers, some of whom were tortured cruelly.

95. The End of Dutch Rule in New Amsterdam (1664).—The territory occupied by the Dutch colony was long claimed by the English. Besides, its location offered many opportunities for the violation of the Navigation Acts, as goods from Europe or the Indies could readily be smuggled



A DUTCH COTTAGE IN NEW AMSTERDAM

into Virginia or New England from New Amsterdam. Great quantities of tobacco were taken from Virginia to Europe by the Dutch, a fact which interfered with the profits of English merchants and deprived the English government of large revenues.

With these facts in mind Charles II, in 1664, granted the territory between the Delaware and the Connecticut rivers

to his brother James, Duke of York, with the right to govern it. A few months later Colonel Richard Nicolls, appointed deputy-governor of his new lands by the duke, appeared before New Amsterdam and demanded the surrender of the colony. Stuyvesant declared his intention to fight, but the leading men of the town saw that resistance was hopeless, and the place was surrendered without bloodshed. New Netherland was now called New York, and New Amsterdam received the same name.

96. The Relations between the English and the Iroquois. — In 1673, while England and Holland were at war, New York was seized by the Dutch, who named it New Orange; but, by the treaty of peace fifteen months later, the province was restored to the English. Edmund Andros, who later played an unpopular part in the history of Massachusetts (Sec. 88), now became governor of New York. The principal work of Andros was his treaty of friendship with the Iroquois Confederacy, or the Five Nations. He established an Indian Commission, with headquarters at Albany, and furnished the Iroquois with muskets and ammunition. His friendship for these powerful tribes proved of value to the English settlements, for it was the Iroquois who did much to prevent the French from taking possession of northern and western New York.

97. Governor Thomas Dongan. — Andros was succeeded in 1681 by Colonel Thomas Dongan, an Irishman who later became Earl of Limerick. The Duke of York had become convinced that the province would be more prosperous and would yield him a larger revenue if the people had self-government, and Governor Dongan brought with him authority from the Duke to establish a popular law-making assembly. The first meeting of the new body took place October 17,

1683. It formulated a "Charter of Liberties," providing for freedom of worship for all Christians and popular control of taxation. Meetings of the legislature were to be held at least every third year.

The prosperous state of affairs under Dongan's rule did not last long. The Duke of York, who became king as James II, in 1685, joined New York and New England and appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor of the united colonies. The New York Assembly then ceased to exist.

98. The Rule of Leisler. — When the news arrived in New York in 1689 that James II had been succeeded by William III, an uprising in favor of the new king took place. It was led by Jacob Leisler, a New York merchant, who remained in control of affairs for two years, when a new governor was sent out from England. Leisler, by his arbitrary rule, had made many enemies and they poisoned the mind of the new governor against him. He was accused of treason and hanged because he did not deliver up the fort on Manhattan Island as readily as the new governor wished.

99. The Later Government of New York. — A representative assembly was again set up in New York in 1691, which often came into conflict with the royal governors sent out from England. Quarrels over taxation and the expenditure of the colony's money developed a spirit of opposition to the English government that lasted to Revolutionary times.

The representative government, set up in 1691, departed from the spirit of tolerance that had existed in the time of Governor Dongan. A fierce anti-Catholic spirit developed during Leisler's rule and continued in later years.

The exercise of the Catholic religion was forbidden in the colony. An English act of Parliament "for further preventing the extension of Popery" was adopted in New

York and Massachusetts. It aimed to expel priests from the colony and provided life imprisonment for any that remained. A bounty of one hundred pounds was offered for the apprehension of any priest. Life imprisonment was also decreed for keeping a Catholic school.

NEW JERSEY

100. **How New Jersey Was Settled.** — When the Duke of York in 1664 received the grant of New Netherland from



SIR GEORGE CARTERET LANDING IN NEW JERSEY

his royal brother, he gave a portion of his new lands to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The duke's gift comprised what is now New Jersey, a name given to the land in honor of Carteret's gallant defense of the island of

Jersey during the civil war in England. There were already some Dutch settlers in New Jersey, and English colonists were soon attracted by the liberal land policy of the proprietors and the promise of a representative government. The proprietors soon divided the land between them, and the two parts became known as East and West New Jersey. In 1673 a group of Quakers bought an interest in West Jersey and brought many Quaker colonists there. By 1682 all of New Jersey came into the hands of twelve Quakers, among whom was William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. In 1702 the proprietors sold their rights to the King and New Jersey became a royal province.

PENNSYLVANIA

101. The Founding of Pennsylvania. — William Penn, as one of the proprietors of New Jersey, became interested in colonization in America and decided to secure a grant of land for himself where he could build up a colony according to his own ideas. He was one of the leading Quakers in England and desired a place of refuge for his co-religionists who were suffering severe persecution at home. Charles II owed the sum of £16,000 to Penn's father, an English admiral. On the death of his father, Penn inherited this claim and at his request the King granted Penn in 1680 a tract of land between Maryland and New York, west of the Delaware River. In honor of Penn's father the King called the land Pennsylvania, which means Penn's woods.



WILLIAM PENN

This land had already been settled by Swedes, Dutch, and English, — and in 1681 Penn sent out a governor. At the same time he issued an invitation to the people of England to go to his colony. Settlers were promised land on easy terms, a liberal government, and freedom of worship for Christians. In 1682 Penn himself arrived in Pennsylvania with a group of colonists.

102. Penn's Government. — Penn was not anxious to keep political power in his own hands. He was undertaking "a holy experiment," and he believed that "the people must rule." He, therefore, made no objection when the assembly for which he arranged took much power into its own hands. The first meeting of the assembly was held at Chester a few months after Penn's arrival. It was there decided that all tax-payers were to be voters and that all Christians were to be allowed to hold office.

In 1684 Penn returned to England, where he remained for some years. During his absence dissatisfaction with the government arose, and on his second visit to the colony a new constitution was adopted (1701) which remained in force until 1776. Under this constitution the power of dissolving the assembly was taken from the governor. The right to hold office was given to all Christians, but in 1705 this right was taken from Catholics. The constitution provided for its own amendment, and was the first written constitution in history to have such a provision.

103. Why Pennsylvania Progressed. — The early settlers of Pennsylvania did not have to contend with famine and disease, as did some of the other colonies. The soil was very fertile, and the colonists soon had an abundance of food to export to the tobacco and sugar plantations of the West Indies, where they found a ready market.

Besides the thousands of English Quakers who came to Pennsylvania, German Mennonites, holding religious views similar to those of the Quakers, came in great numbers, and men from Wales and Ireland helped to swell the population in Penn's colony. Philadelphia, founded in 1683, by 1697 had twelve thousand inhabitants and was the largest town in the English colonies.

One of the reasons for this rapid growth of Pennsylvania was the absence of Indian troubles. Penn not only treated the natives with marked kindness himself but insisted on fair dealing with them by others. He made many treaties with them for the purchase of land and paid them what they thought good value.

DELAWARE

104. How the Southern Boundary of Pennsylvania Was Settled. — In 1638 men from Sweden built a fort near the present site of Wilmington, Delaware, and engaged in the fur trade. Later they made other settlements on the Delaware River, calling the country New Sweden. But the Dutch claimed this territory, and in 1655 took possession of it and made it a part of New Netherland. It passed into the hands of the Duke of York in 1664, when the Dutch possessions in America were captured by the English.

William Penn and the Duke of York were close friends, and, when Penn received Pennsylvania from Charles II, the duke gave him the settlements on the Delaware. Because of a lack of knowledge of the geography of the region, Penn's grant included some of the lands in Maryland already given to Lord Baltimore. But Penn's influence with the King secured for him all the land now known as Delaware. In 1703 the people of Delaware were allowed a separate

legislative assembly, but until the Revolution it had the same governor as Pennsylvania.

Penn's claims interfered with those of Maryland along the whole boundary line as well as in Delaware. The dispute as to the boundary west of Delaware was not settled in Penn's lifetime, but it continued to vex the heirs of Penn and Baltimore for many years. The present line between Maryland and Pennsylvania was finally run in 1767 by two English surveyors, Mason and Dixon.

Vocabulary

arbitrary petition traitor treason

Map Exercises

1. Trace the Hudson River from source to mouth. Locate Albany and New York.
2. Find Manhattan Island.
3. Locate the Delaware River.
4. Trace the Mason and Dixon line.

Questions

1. Who founded the city of New York? 2. Who were the patroons? What privileges had they? 3. Have you heard of Wall Street and its importance in New York to-day? How was it named? 4. Why was it difficult to rule New Netherland? 5. How did the English get control of New Amsterdam? Why did they want it? 6. In which of the other colonies was there a similar contest between the governor and the representatives of the people? 7. How did New York win the friendship of the Iroquois? Why was this important later? 8. Name the governors of New York and tell how each ruled. 9. Why did William Penn become interested in colonization? 10. How did he make his colony attractive to settlers? 11. How did Delaware become an English colony? 12. Why were so many mistakes of boundaries made in land grants? 13. What is the Mason and Dixon line?

CHAPTER VIII

COLONIAL LIFE

105. The Number and Character of the Colonists. —

The colonies whose foundation has been considered grew rapidly in numbers and wealth in spite of early hardships and disasters. By the time that the contest for independence began (1760), their numbers had increased to 1,600,000. At the same time settlers, except in the Carolinas and Georgia, had occupied the lands between the Atlantic coast and the Appalachian Mountains, and in some cases were reaching out to the new lands beyond. Of the people then in the colonies, New England had nearly 500,000, the middle colonies about 400,000, and the South over 700,000. Virginia, with about 315,000 inhabitants, was the largest colony; Georgia, with 9000, was the smallest.

The early years of the eighteenth century saw a change in the character of the immigration to the American colonies. Conditions in England grew more favorable and Englishmen ceased to come in large numbers. On the other hand, war in Scotland and economic distress in Ireland served to send large numbers of Irish and Scotch to the New World. The Irish who came to the colonies landed chiefly at Philadelphia and Charleston, and passed on to the frontier, where they became the principal element of the population in the valleys of western Virginia and the Carolinas. It is esti-

mated that in the twenty years between 1730 and 1750 two hundred forty thousand people came from Ireland to the colonies. Some Germans came to Pennsylvania in Penn's time, and there is recorded the arrival of three thousand Germans in New York in 1710. But the great German immigration began in 1717, principally to Pennsylvania, and continued, with little falling off, until the Revolution. They arrived in such numbers that large sections of Pennsylvania were given over to German customs and the German language. Many Welsh, Dutch, Swedes, and French came also.

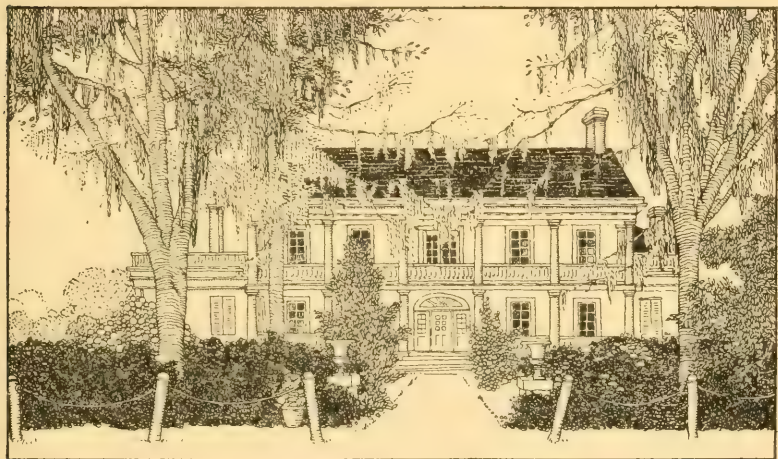
An important element in the population was the negro. Negro slaves were to be found in the New England colonies, but except in Rhode Island not in great numbers. In New York about one sixth of the population was made up of negroes, but the proportion was not so large in the other middle colonies. In Maryland the slaves were about one fourth of the total population, in Virginia nearly one half, and in South Carolina they greatly outnumbered the whites.

106. Colonial Industries. — Most of the colonists were farmers. Fishing was important, especially in New England, where cod and mackerel were plentiful. Lumbering was carried on in all the colonies and some little manufacturing was done.

In the South large plantations worked by slave labor were common. The tobacco plantations of Virginia often were of enormous size. The famous estate of William Byrd just fell short of one hundred eighty thousand acres, though not many were so large. Tobacco and rice were the chief crops in the South in the eighteenth century, and indigo became important about 1750. Of other products the South had great wealth in lumber and pitch and tar.

In the western settlements of the southern colonies the land was suitable for wheat-raising, and here small farms were common and slaves were not much used.

In the middle and New England colonies small farms were the rule, except among the patroons of the Hudson



A TYPICAL SOUTHERN HOME

River. The farmers of the middle colonies produced large quantities of wheat, flour, beef, and pork for export. They found a good market in the West Indies, French and Spanish, as well as English, where the raising of sugar proved so profitable that the planters neglected the cultivation of other crops.

The long winters in the northern colonies gave plenty of opportunity for the farmer and his family to engage in other pursuits besides tilling the soil. As a result spinning and weaving, at least of the coarser grades of woolens, were widely practiced. The farmer made shingles and staves

and hammered out nails at his own forge. Ship-building became a leading industry of Massachusetts, where, on account of the cheapness of lumber, vessels were built for the English as well as the American market. Rum, manufactured from West Indian molasses, was an important article of export from New England, particularly for the purchase of slaves on the African coast. A million and a quarter gallons were made in Boston each year. Hat-making was



A TYPICAL NEW ENGLAND HOME

so profitable an industry in the colonies that Parliament in 1732 put severe restrictions on the industry. The production of iron in the colonies also aroused the jealousy of manufacturers at home, and in 1750 an act of Parliament sought to limit iron manufacture in the colonies to the production of pig iron and bar iron.

107. Colonial Trade. — Though the sea-going commerce of the colonies grew rapidly in the eighteenth century, it did not result in the development of large cities. For the small

ships of the time fair harbors could be found at many points in the North; and in the South the wide, slow-moving streams permitted each large plantation to have its own wharves where ocean-going vessels came with European merchandise and were loaded with tobacco for the European markets. In 1760 Boston and Philadelphia, the largest towns, had only 20,000 people each, while New York, the third city in size, had 10,000. Next came Charleston, South Carolina, with about 9000.

Besides their trade with England, the colonies did a brisk business with the West India Islands and the neighboring Spanish mainland. The colonies sent lumber, fish, beef, pork, and flour to the West Indies, and their ships brought back molasses and sugar. The planters of the British sugar islands in the West Indies did not like to see the colonists buying sugar and molasses from the French, Dutch, and Spanish sugar-growers, and in 1733 induced Parliament to pass the "Molasses Act" to prevent the colonies in North America from buying any but British-grown sugar and molasses. This law might have worked extreme hardship on the colonists, for the British West Indies did not produce enough molasses for the New England rum-makers, but means were found to evade the law. Bribery of officials was common, and there were so many good harbors along the northern coast that an enormous amount of smuggling was done in spite of the customs officers.

Many tricks were resorted to in evading the act. A common one was for a ship-captain to sail from Jamaica, a British sugar island, with a cargo of empty barrels, which were entered on the ship's papers as filled with molasses. He would then go to a French island to fill his barrels, and when he reached Boston his clearance from Jamaica pro-

tected his cargo. Had the law been enforced, it would have ruined a large part of the trade of the northern colonies; and thirty years later, when the British minister, Pitt, tried to enforce it, he aroused a spirit of resentment in New England that did much to bring on the Revolutionary War.

The slave trade was closely related to the molasses trade and the manufacture of rum. Ships laden with rum would sail to the African coast and trade their cargo for negro slaves; then cross the Atlantic to the West Indies or the southern colonies, discharge their human freight, and return to a northern port with a cargo of molasses. A slave in 1760 was frequently worth a hundred dollars more in America than in Africa. If a ship captain carried with him a hundred or more slaves, his voyage was highly profitable.

108. Education in Colonial Times. — By a law of 1647 Massachusetts required each town, according to its size, to maintain a primary school or a grammar school. The hard conditions of life in the seventeenth century prevented this wise law from being widely observed, but its adoption showed the interest of the colonists in education. When prosperous times came in the eighteenth century, greater attention was paid to the establishment of schools. Parents in Pennsylvania were admonished under penalty of a heavy fine to see that their children were taught to read. A Maryland law provided that each county should maintain a school, but as the teacher was required to be an Episcopalian, only a small part of the community could take advantage of the arrangement. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century Virginia had twelve free schools endowed by well-to-do planters and about twenty good private schools. The plantations of the South did not readily permit the building up of a school system. The children of the rich

depended on private tutors and usually the children of the poor were taught at home or not at all, though a number of free scholarships were established for the poor, especially in South Carolina. The Dutch in New York made an effort to have schools in connection with their churches. During Governor Dongan's administration, his chaplain, Father Harvey, and two other Jesuits opened in New York a Latin school which flourished for a few years.

109. Books and Newspapers. — The earliest printing press in the English colonies was set up in Massachusetts in 1638 under the direction of Harvard College; a private printing office was opened in the colony a few years later. The books printed in the early days of Massachusetts were chiefly of a religious nature. A censorship of printing was maintained and we read that in 1669 the General Court stopped the printing of "a booke, that Imitations of Christ, or to that purpose, written by Thomas a Kempis, a Popish minister."

Among the well-to-do and the clergy there were many libraries of books from England and the Continent. The first public library in the colonies is believed to have been that of Charleston, South Carolina, which was opened before 1698. Benjamin Franklin was the prime mover in securing a public library for Philadelphia in 1731. The first newspaper in the colonies was the *Boston News Letter*, established in 1704. In the next thirty years numerous weekly journals were founded, and by the Revolutionary era the press had immense influence on colonial public opinion.

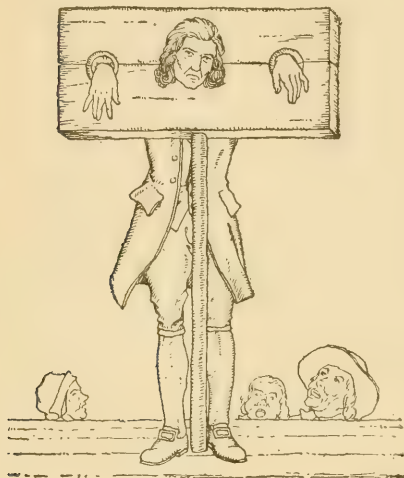
110. How Wrongdoers Were Punished. — The colonists brought with them from England and other countries of Europe harsh methods of dealing with wrongdoers. The prisons were foul, and terrible bodily punishment was

frequently inflicted. Whipping was common, and branding on cheek or forehead and boring the tongue with a red-hot iron were often resorted to. The offender might have his hands and head confined in a pillory and his ears nailed to a board. In 1722, a thief

who stole to the value of about a dollar in North Carolina was sentenced "to be whipped at the cart's tail thirty-nine stripes on the bare back through Edenton and the same through Bath."

III. Local Government.

—In the New England colonies the people were grouped in agricultural villages, and the unit of local government was the town meeting. This assembly, which was similar to the



A PILLORY

parish meetings that the earlier colonists had known in England, levied taxes, chose local officers, and supervised roads, bridges, and other local public improvements. The town clerk kept the records and the "select-men," usually seven or nine, managed the affairs of the village between town meetings.

In the South the soil and climate and the many navigable rivers developed the plantation system. The village community was not common and the town meeting could not serve the purpose of local government. There the unit of local government was the county, patterned after the English county. Its affairs were administered in the county court,

held four times a year and presided over by justices of the peace, usually men of social prominence, appointed by the governor. The county court looked after the roads and other local improvements. It also tried small law cases. In the county court were elected the county's representatives in the colonial assembly. The voting was by word of mouth, a method that often prevented a real expression of opinion and permitted the wealthier citizens to control public affairs. The sheriff and clerk of the court were usually appointed by the governor. The county system as it grew up in the South tended to put political power in the hands of the landed aristocracy.

In the middle colonies both the town and the county were made use of, and from them the system of counties divided into towns or townships spread in the nineteenth century to many of the newer states of the Union.

Vocabulary

biography	emigrant	local government
compulsory	immigrant	primary

Questions

1. In 1760 what was the total population of the united colonies? Where was this population densest? Why? What per cent were slaves?
2. What nations later sent many immigrants?
3. What was the chief occupation in the northern, southern, and middle colonies?
4. Name the chief manufactures of the New England colonies.
5. Why does commerce to-day mean development of large cities although in the eighteenth century it did not?
6. What were England's restrictions on colonial trade? What were the reasons for such restrictions?
7. What was the interest of New England in the slave trade?
8. Why was compulsory education impossible? Where was education most difficult? Why?
9. How do you explain the cruel colonial punishments?
10. Describe the township government of the northern colonies. Describe the county government of the southern colonies. Point out differences between them.

CHAPTER IX

THE RISE AND FALL OF NEW FRANCE

112. The French in the West. — The Appalachian Mountains and the hostile Indian tribes prevented the English colonies from expanding rapidly to the interior of the country. It was only when the lands between the mountains and the sea had been occupied and there was pressing need of more land that the barriers to westward expansion were overcome. But the French, who began the permanent settlement of the North American continent about the same time as the English, found a natural highway to the interior by way of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. Nor did the Indians offer the same resistance to the French as to the English. The French did not come in sufficient numbers to threaten the hunting grounds of the natives; and as they were engaged chiefly in the fur trade and brought firearms and other things which the Indians wanted, they were welcomed.

As a result, French traders and missionaries were able to penetrate into the interior with little hindrance. Champlain, who founded Quebec in 1608, had an agent in Wisconsin making trading agreements with the Indians as early as 1634. As we have already seen, the Jesuit missionaries were soon in this territory bringing a knowledge of the Christian faith to the savages. The Jesuit, Father Claude Allouez,

who spent over thirty years in the middle of the continent, has well been called "the founder of Catholicity in the West." He preached to twenty different tribes and baptized ten thousand of the natives. Associated with him for a number of years was his brother Jesuit, Father James Marquette, whom the state of Wisconsin has honored with a statue in the Capitol at Washington.

113. The French Reach the Mississippi. — While at the La Pointe Mission, near the modern town of Ashland, Wisconsin, Father Marquette became interested in the stories which he heard from his Indian converts of the "great river" to the west. In 1673 he and Louis Joliet, an explorer sent out by Frontenac, the governor of New France, set out from the St. Ignace Mission at the Straits of Mackinac to find the "great river," which they hoped flowed into the Pacific Ocean; for the French were still desirous of finding a convenient westerly route to the East Indies. Marquette and Joliet ascended the Fox River and by an easy portage reached the Wisconsin, down which, on June 17, they drifted to the Mississippi. They journeyed down this great river to the mouth of the Arkansas and by that time learned from the natives that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. Fearing capture by the Spaniards if they kept on, the travelers turned their faces to the north.



FATHER MARQUETTE

Joliet returned to Quebec, where his story of the discovery filled Governor Frontenac and others with dreams of a great French empire in the West. Marquette remained to preach the Gospel among the savages. He labored among the Kaskaskias and other Illinois tribes, but in 1675 he was taken ill and died on the shores of Lake Michigan. His remains were afterwards removed to the St. Ignace Mission which he had founded. His death, at the early age of thirty-nine, brought to a close the labors of one of the most remarkable of American missionaries and explorers.

114. The Work of La Salle. — Among those at Quebec who heard the story of Joliet's travels on the Mississippi was Robert Cavalier, better known as the Sieur de la



SIEUR DE LA SALLE

Salle, already a great traveler and the trusted agent of Governor Frontenac. La Salle formed a plan to take possession of the Mississippi region in the name of France and to secure the mouth of the great river as a warm-water port from which ships could sail all the year round. Starting for the West in the fall of 1679, he reached Peoria Lake on the Illinois River, New Year's Day, 1680, where he built Fort Crèvecoeur.

Finding it necessary to return to Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario for provisions, La Salle directed some of his party to explore the upper waters of the Mississippi. This party was headed by Michel Accau and Father Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan, who has left us an account of the expedition. In their travels they reached the present site of Minneapolis, where the Falls of St. Anthony were named by Father Hen-

nepin in honor of the great Franciscan, St. Anthony of Padua. Taken prisoners by the Sioux, Father Hennepin and his companions, after many wanderings, were liberated by Duluth, a French fur trader.

After La Salle had returned to Canada he equipped a new expedition and set out once more for the Mississippi, which he reached by way of the Illinois River in February, 1682. Following the stream to its mouth, he took formal possession, in the name of the French king, of the whole Mississippi basin. Two years later, in 1684, he undertook to lead a colony from France to the lower Mississippi region, but misfortunes followed his new venture. The Spaniards captured one of his four ships, and the others failed to find the river. A landing was made on the Texas coast, and Fort St. Louis was established on Matagorda Bay. After two years of extreme hardship, La Salle started overland for Canada to secure relief for his colony. Before many weeks, he was killed by two of his own men (March, 1687). His companions reached Canada in safety, but the colony he left at Fort St. Louis was destroyed by the Indians.

115. The Territory of Louisiana. — King Louis XIV was greatly interested in La Salle's plan for taking possession of the Mississippi basin, but his attention was diverted from the work of settlement by a war with England, which broke out in 1689 and lasted till 1697. The French and English colonists became involved in the conflict, which is sometimes known as King William's War. Both sides made use of savages, and the war was fought with much barbarism. Neither side won any territory in America.

At the end of the war Louis sent out an expedition to the Mississippi under the command of Peter Le Moyne, better known as Iberville. A post was established at Biloxi, near

the mouth of the river. Later the colony was removed to the Mobile River, and in 1710 a second removal was made to the present site of Mobile. Iberville left the colony in its early days, and his brother, Jean Le Moyne, known as Bienville, became for the next forty years the leading figure in Louisiana, as the region came to be called in honor of King Louis. Bienville founded New Orleans in 1718, and this



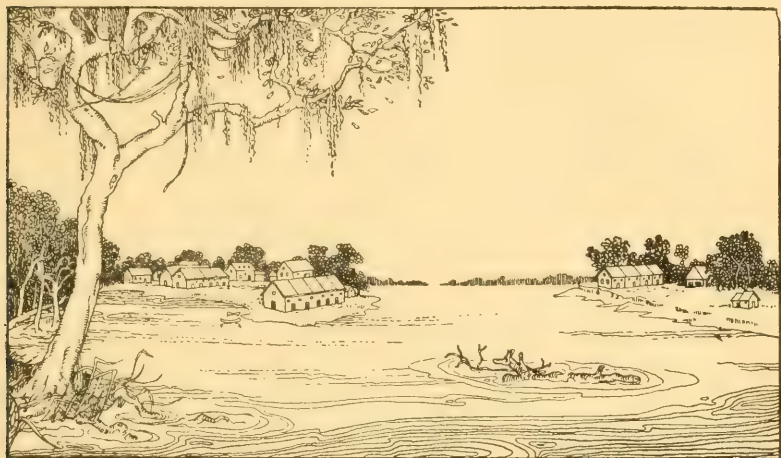
PETER LE MOYNE

place soon became the chief city of the province. In the furtherance of their trade with the Indians the French voyaged up the Red, the Arkansas, and the Missouri rivers and traveled overland until they came in contact with the Spanish traders from the Southwest. In the North the French were no less active. A fort was established by Cadillac at Detroit in 1701. About the same time the Sulpicians arrived at Cahokia, and the Jesuits at

Kaskaskia in the present state of Illinois. In the next few years these missions became prosperous agricultural communities, where hundreds of settlers found profit in raising wheat for the French towns on the lower Mississippi.

116. The Importance of Sea Power. — The successors of La Salle might well think that the great explorer's dream of a French empire in the West was coming true, but in the rapid growth of the English colonies a force was at work which prevented the realization of this dream. By the middle of the eighteenth century a million and a half persons were occupying the narrow coast east of the Appalachians and soon were demanding new lands to feed their growing numbers. To oppose their progress into the Mississippi

basin, there were only eighty thousand French in all Canada and Louisiana. If the land of New France was to be protected from the English, it would have to be by soldiers sent from France. But in the eighteenth century England



NEW ORLEANS IN THE EARLY DAYS

gained control of the sea, and the French at home became unable to render efficient aid to their kinsmen across the Atlantic.

117. Queen Anne's War (1702-1713).—The final conflict which led to the downfall of New France was preceded by several lesser wars in which the English and French colonies took part. The first of these, King William's War, which has already been noted (Sec. 115), left the American territories of the two powers unchanged. In 1702, after only five years of peace, there began in Europe the War of the Spanish Succession, fought by England and other powers to prevent a French prince from becoming ruler of Spain

and its vast possessions in Europe and America. The war spread to America, where it was known as Queen Anne's War. The English captured Acadia with its chief town, Port Royal, but an attempt which was made to take Quebec failed. At the treaty of Utrecht (1713), which closed the war, several matters of interest in America were settled :

1. England was to keep Acadia, or Nova Scotia as it is now called, but the boundaries were not clearly defined.
2. The Iroquois Indians were to be regarded as British subjects.
3. England's claim to Newfoundland was recognized, though French fishermen retained their right to dry fish on the coast.
4. The Hudson Bay country was recognized as British territory.

118. King George's War (1745-1748). — When the French lost Nova Scotia, they lost the town of Port Royal, which was not only their first permanent settlement in America but their chief military position on the coast. Within a few years they began the erection of a powerful fortress on Cape Breton Island, which is separated from Nova Scotia by a narrow channel. The fortifications of the new post, which was called Louisburg, are estimated to have cost \$10,000,000 in present values. When war broke out again, the French aimed to have an excellent base from which to attack English trade in America and particularly the fishing industry of Newfoundland.

In 1745 England and France took opposite sides in the War of the Austrian Succession in Europe, and in a very short time the conflict reached America. Under the direction of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, New England

raised an army of 4000 men for the siege of Louisburg. An English fleet coöperated with the colonial troops, and the great fortress, which was poorly equipped with men and munitions, fell June 16, 1745, after a siege of over forty days. The French attempted to regain the post by an expedition from France, but the control of the sea remained in English hands and Louisburg was retained until the close of the war in Europe in 1748. It was then returned to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in exchange for Madras in far-away India, which had been taken by the French. The New England people were greatly disappointed at seeing the hard-won stronghold handed over to France.

119. The French and English in the Ohio Valley. — Peace between the English and French in America could not long endure. Along the frontier, from Nova Scotia to the Gulf of Mexico, the two nations were coming into closer contact each year, and a final struggle for supremacy was inevitable.

Backwoodsmen of Virginia were already acquainted with the hunting grounds of Kentucky and some of them had land claims there. In 1748 a farming settlement was established by Virginians on the upper waters of the Kanawha River, which flows into the Ohio. Farther to the south, traders from the Carolinas and Georgia were competing with the French for the fur trade of the interior.

This English invasion of the region west of the Appalachians roused the governor of Canada to action, and in 1749 he sent an expedition to take possession of the Ohio Valley and drive out the English traders. As a sign of their ownership of the land, the French planted at the mouth of the principal streams lead plates bearing a statement of their claims.

120. The Ohio Company Begins the Conflict. — In 1749, the same year that the French expedition visited the Ohio Valley, the Ohio Company, among whose members were Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of our first president, was given two hundred thousand acres along the Ohio River. The company prepared for the settlement of its lands by blazing a trail from the present site of Cumberland, Maryland, on the Potomac, sixty miles over the hills



WASHINGTON STARTS FOR THE FRENCH FORT

to the Monongahela where Brownsville, Pennsylvania, now stands. But before the company was able to occupy its lands, the French were again in the Ohio Valley, beginning the construction of a line of forts from the present site of Erie, Pennsylvania, to the mouth of the Ohio. In the winter of 1753-1754 Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington, a capable young Virginian of twenty-one years, to protest to the French against their occupation of territory which he said was "so notoriously known to be

the property of the crown of Great Britain." Though Washington was politely received, it was plain that the French intended to remain in the country.

Both sides were anxious to occupy the strategic point where the Allegheny and the Monongahela unite to form the Ohio, and an attempt was made by the Virginia governor to fortify the place the same winter that Washington visited the French in the west. But in the following April the fort builders were surprised by a superior force of French and Indians and compelled to surrender. They were sent back to Virginia, while the French greatly strengthened the fortifications, calling them Fort Duquesne in honor of the governor of Canada.

Washington was once more sent to the west, this time at the head of three hundred armed men. Late in May he arrived at Great Meadows, within a few days' march of Fort Duquesne. In a skirmish with a detachment of French and Indians, the French leader and ten of his men were killed and the remainder taken prisoners or driven off. Thus was shed the first blood in a conflict that was to involve the destruction of the French power in America. Washington now set up a stockade, which he called Fort Necessity, and awaited the attack of the main French force. After a gallant defense he surrendered, but was permitted to march out with the honors of war (July 4, 1754).

121. The Albany Congress (1754). — The British government had already begun to fear the outbreak of war in America. In 1753 it had urged the colonial governors to provide for the defense of the English colonies and, if possible, to secure an alliance with the powerful Iroquois Indians. In accordance with these recommendations, delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire,

Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland assembled at Albany in June, 1754, while Washington was facing the French at Fort Necessity. The Iroquois could not be induced to form an alliance at the time, but the congress was able to formulate a plan of union proposed by Benjamin Franklin, who ably represented Pennsylvania at the conference. The plan provided for the appointment by the king of a president-general and for a council chosen by the colonial assemblies. The council was to meet once a year and to have power to make laws, levy taxes, control public lands, make treaties with the Indians, and equip and pay an army. Though unanimously recommended by the Albany Congress, the plan was rejected by the colonies, who were not yet prepared to give up such large powers to a central government.

122. The Campaign of 1755. — Two British regiments were sent to Virginia in 1755 under command of General Edward Braddock, and an ambitious campaign against New France was planned.

1. Braddock's force, aided by Virginia troops, was to capture Fort Duquesne.

2. The Massachusetts forces under Governor Shirley were to attack the French fort at Niagara.

3. William Johnson, an Irishman who had acquired great influence over the Iroquois, was to lead the militia of New York against Crown Point on Lake Champlain and so open the way for an invasion of Canada.

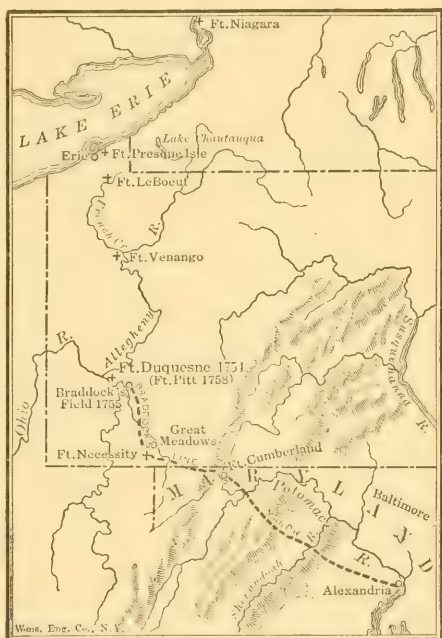
4. The French were to be driven from their remaining posts in Acadia.

Braddock set out over the route Washington had followed, and on July 8, 1755, arrived within eight miles of Fort Duquesne, where he was offered battle by a force composed

largely of Indians, but containing also Frenchmen and Canadians. Sheltered behind trees and fallen trunks, the attacking party poured a murderous fire into the ranks of the British soldiery. Braddock, who had no knowledge of Indian warfare, refused to let his men seek shelter. Their scarlet coats made excellent targets for the hidden foe, and the British force was soon demoralized. Braddock himself was mortally wounded and it fell to Washington to conduct the retreat of the panic-stricken army. For three years more the French held their ground at Fort Duquesne.

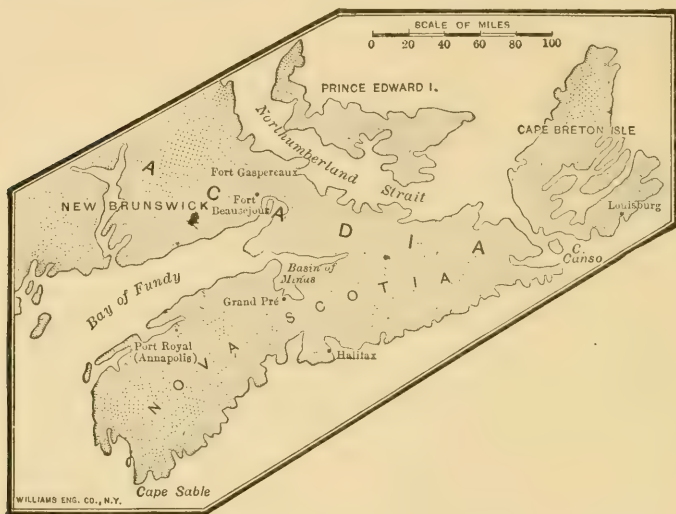
From papers found on the scene of Braddock's defeat, the French learned the plan of the British campaign and were so well prepared for the expeditions against Niagara and Crown Point that neither was successful.

123. The Expulsion of the Acadians. — The only British success of the year was the expedition against Acadia. The British claim to Acadia, or Nova Scotia, had been recognized by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 (Sec. 117). The French inhabitants of the peninsula, ill-used under British rule, never became loyal to Great Britain, and in the



FRENCH FORTS IN THE WEST

summer of 1755 troops were sent to carry out the cruel work of removing the Acadian population from the land. Their lands were confiscated and seven thousand persons were driven from their homes and scattered among the



ACADIA, A PART OF NEW FRANCE

colonial settlements from Massachusetts to Georgia. The story of their great suffering is told in Longfellow's *Evangeline*.

124. Two Years of French Success. — In spite of the fighting in America, it was not until 1756 that England and France formally declared war on each other. In that year a great conflict, known as the Seven Years' War, broke out in Europe, and France and England were again on opposite sides. Their struggle in America came to be called the French and Indian War. The English showed little energy in the conduct of the war for the next two years, and Mont-

calm, the new governor of Canada, was able to win several successes. In 1756 he took the English post at Oswego on Lake Ontario and burned it. The next year he captured Fort William Henry on Lake George, and an English attempt to take Louisburg failed.

125. Pitt Comes into Power. — There now came into a position of power in England William Pitt, one of the most far-seeing statesmen of modern times. He realized the enormous value to his country of the control of the sea and devoted his powerful energies to the upbuilding of the British navy. At the same time France was spending her resources in an attempt to defeat the armies of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, the most capable military leader of his time. By lending money to Frederick and by strengthening the British navy, Pitt overcame the power of France.

In 1758 Louisburg was taken, as was also Fort Frontenac on the northern shore of Lake Ontario. The same year a new advance on Fort Duquesne was undertaken by a combined force of British regulars and colonial militia led by General Forbes, with Colonel Washington in command of the Virginia troops. Feeling themselves unable to hold Fort Duquesne, the French blew up its defenses before Forbes arrived in November, 1758. The English occupied the place abandoned by the French and renamed it Fort Pitt in honor of the English minister. It is now called Pittsburgh.

The only French success of the year was the defeat of an English army of 15,000 near Ticonderoga by Montcalm with only 3100 men.

126. The Fall of Quebec (1759). — In 1759 Pitt determined upon the conquest of Quebec, and early in the year sent to the St. Lawrence a great fleet carrying an army under the command of General Wolfe. Quebec occupied a

strong natural position; and from June to September the best efforts of Wolfe made no impression on the defenses of the city, though many houses were destroyed by the cannonading. The English commander now determined to take his troops up the river past the city and attack Quebec from above. The banks of the St. Lawrence above Quebec were high and steep, but an occasional ravine offered a means of reaching the plains on which the city stood. In the morning of September 13, 1759, four thousand English troops



QUEBEC AND VICINITY

made their way up one of these ravines about a mile and a half from the city and gained the heights before effective resistance could be made to their advance. Montcalm, mistaking the numbers of the English, attacked at once in the open field, instead of waiting within his defenses, where he might have protected him-

self until the approach of winter would drive the English from the river. The discipline of the English regulars soon told and the French line broke and fled. Both Montcalm and Wolfe fell, mortally wounded, at the decisive moment of the battle. Wolfe died on the field and Montcalm passed away the next morning within the city.

A monument to the two great soldiers has been erected in Quebec bearing this inscription: "Valor gave a united death, History a united fame, Posterity a united monument."

The city surrendered four days after the battle. News of the fall of Quebec, the center of French power in America, was greeted with joy throughout the English colonies. A year later Montreal surrendered, and French resistance in America came to an end.

127. England's Success Due to Her Control of the Sea. — Spain

had entered the war as an ally of France and, owing to the superiority of the English fleet over those of both France and Spain, had lost Cuba and the Philippine Islands. In fact, the navy of France had been utterly ruined



GENERAL MONTCALM

by the war. Admiral Mahan, the distinguished historian of naval warfare, has pointed out that England's success was due to "the tremendous weapon of her sea power."

128. The Treaty of Paris (1763). — The war in Europe against Frederick the Great had also resulted in the defeat of the French, and, with their resources exhausted, they made peace at Paris in February, 1763. By the terms of the treaty the following agreements were reached :

1. All the French possessions in North America east of the Mississippi River went to England, except that the island on which New Orleans stands, lying east of the river, was left to the French.

2. France retained the right of fish-drying on the north and west shores of Newfoundland, and two small neighboring islands as a shelter for her fishermen.

3. France lost her islands in the West Indies, except two, Guadeloupe and Martinique.

4. England received Florida from Spain, to whom she restored Cuba and the Philipppines.

By a secret arrangement France ceded to Spain New Orleans and all the French possessions west of the Mississippi. This territory was later returned to France. (Sec. 223.)

129. How the French and Indian War Prepared the Way for the Revolution. — Besides giving to England possession of vast territories in North America, the French and Indian War in a number of ways prepared the ground for the separation of the English colonies from the mother country.

1. It relieved the colonies from the fear of attack on the part of the French, and so removed the need of English protection.

2. The war promoted a spirit of unity among the colonies. The Albany Congress and other intercolonial gatherings helped to a better understanding. Soldiers from different sections had marched and fought together; mutual acquaintance was fostered, so that it was easier to unite when danger came.

3. The military experience gained in the war by thousands of men and their officers gave confidence to them and aided them in organizing their defenses when the question of war with England arose.

4. Finally, the war produced the tax controversy, which snapped the threads of loyalty that till then had bound the colonies to the British Empire. To guard against attempts on the part of France to regain her lands in America and against Indian outbreaks, it was decided to maintain a standing army in the colonies and tax the colonists for part of the army's support.

An Indian war, the most terrible in colonial history, broke out in the West the very year that peace was signed (1763).

Pontiac, a capable chief of the Ottawas, roused the Indians from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi in defense of their hunting grounds. "The English shall never come here as long as a red man lives," they declared. Several western forts were taken and a reign of terror was begun along the entire frontier. Sharp fighting was needed before the Indians were brought to terms. The uprising was put down chiefly by British regulars who were still in the country.

It was decided that ten thousand British troops were not too many for the protection of the colonies against the French and Indians. Since the army was to be maintained largely for the defense of Americans, the English government, whose own debt had been doubled by the war, thought the Americans ought to contribute to the army's support. That was, perhaps, a reasonable view to take; but the colonists had grown accustomed to taxing themselves, and they resented the attempt which England now made to tax them.

Vocabulary

blazed trail

ravine

strategic

supreme

Map Exercises

1. Locate: Ashland, Wis., Arkansas River, Matagorda Bay, Mobile, New Orleans, Detroit, Cape Breton Island, Louisburg, Cumberland.

Questions

1. Give two reasons why the French penetrated inland while the English remained on the seacoast.
2. Describe the route of Marquette and Joliet.
3. How did La Salle become interested in exploring?
4. Describe his first expedition.
5. Where have the early explorers been immortalized by names?
6. Who first claimed the Mississippi River basin for the French? How?
7. How did Louisiana get its name? Who settled it?
8. Whom did the French fear on the north? On the

south? On the east? On the west? 9. What great factor made England a most dangerous enemy to the French in America? 10. What war was closed by the treaty of Utrecht? Give the date of the signing of the treaty. State its important provisions relating to America. 11. Locate Louisburg. What was its importance in war? 12. Give as complete a synopsis as you can of the threefold character of the struggle between France and England in Europe, in India, in America. 13. What was the great strategic point in the Ohio River Valley? Who finally secured it? 14. Describe the expulsion of the Acadians. 15. Give the date and the importance of the Albany Congress and Franklin's position in it. 16. Explain England's fourfold plan against the French in America in 1755. 17. What was the explanation of Braddock's defeat? 18. How did William Pitt show his ability as a statesman? 19. How is his genius felt in the struggle in America? 20. Describe the fall of Quebec; name the two heroes of the event. 21. Explain Spain's position in the war. 22. Give accurately the terms of the peace of Paris. 23. Did England make a mistake in driving the French out of America? 24. In how many ways did the expulsion of the French prepare for the separation of the colonies from England?

CHAPTER X

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

I

THE PERIOD OF DEBATE

130. The Spirit of Independence. — Even before the French and Indian War the colonists were developing a spirit of independence. They were a long way from England; they were growing prosperous and enjoyed a large measure of self-government; America was their permanent home; and they had begun to look upon themselves as Americans rather than as Englishmen. Moreover, outside of New England the greater number of colonists were of non-English origin and could readily be induced to break the ties that bound them to England. A new nation had grown up in America, able and willing to take care of its own affairs, but the English government did not recognize that fact.

131. The Colonists Resent the Veto Power. — As the colonial assembly paid the governor's salary, it could generally influence his action by threatening to cut off his pay. The king, however, still exercised control over the colonial assemblies by his power of vetoing colonial laws, but there was a growing resentment over the use of this power. The king was far away and the assembly had to wait months for

his decision; in fact, laws were sometimes vetoed by the king years after they had been passed. It was felt, too, that the king's veto power was often exercised for the benefit of the English commercial classes and against the interest of the colonists.

132. The Enforcement of the Molasses Act.—The colonies imported a great deal of sugar and molasses from the French and Spanish islands in the West Indies and in return sent those islands great quantities of food. The Molasses Act of 1733 was intended to stop the trade, but it was evaded by smuggling and other means (Sec. 107). The trade continued even during the French and Indian War, and Pitt, who then controlled the British government, thought he would deal a blow at the enemies of England by

enforcing the act of 1733. But the trade was just as valuable to the northern colonies and especially to Massachusetts as to the French and Spanish; and, though they were furnishing the enemy with food in war time, the colonists refused to give up this profitable but treasonable business.

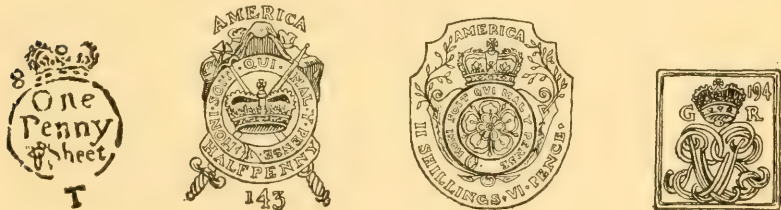


JAMES OTIS

To enforce the Molasses Act the customs officers asked for general search warrants, or "writs of assistance" as they were called. Armed with these, they could go into any house or ship, break down doors and open boxes as they wished in their search for smuggled goods. These writs had been issued in England and even in the colonies, but they were now to be used in an attempt to ruin the chief business of Massachusetts. The merchants of that colony raised a protest against their legality, which brought

the matter before a Massachusetts court in 1761. They lost their case, but James Otis, a young Massachusetts lawyer who represented them at the trial, showed that writs of assistance could easily be made instruments of tyranny. He declared that Parliament had committed a great injustice when it authorized their use; acts of that kind, he said, "had cost one king of England his head and another his throne." The eloquence of Otis made a powerful impression on Massachusetts public opinion. John Adams, who heard the speech, afterwards declared: "Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born."

133. The Stamp Act (1765).—One of the results of the French War was the decision on the part of the British



STAMP ACT STAMPS

government to maintain a standing army in America and to tax the colonies to pay a part of its costs (Sec. 129). The size of the army was fixed at ten thousand men, and money was to be raised by new taxation and a strict enforcement of the old trade regulations, including the Molasses Act of 1733, which was reenacted in 1764 with a few changes.

The new taxation was to take the form of a Stamp Act which was passed in March, 1765. It required stamps, ranging in price from three pence to ten pounds, on legal

documents, insurance policies, newspapers, and other articles.

134. Opposition to the Stamp Act. — News of the new attempt to break up their profitable trade with the French, Spanish, and Dutch raised a storm of protest in the northern colonies.

When it became known that Parliament had levied the stamp tax on the colonies, indignation became general.



PATRICK HENRY SPEAKING BEFORE THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY

The Virginia Assembly adopted a series of resolutions written by Patrick Henry, which declared that the right of Virginians to tax themselves in their own assembly had long been recognized by the British government and had never been given up. Any one who maintained the contrary was an enemy of the colony. It was in support of these

resolutions that Henry uttered the famous words: "Tarquin and Cæsar had each his Brutus; Charles I his Cromwell; and George III — (here cries of "Treason! Treason!" from the Speaker and others were heard) — may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." Henry's resolutions were widely published and had immense influence in stirring up opposition to the Stamp Act.

When the act was debated in the British House of Commons, a member, Colonel Barre, spoke against it and praised the colonists as "sons of liberty." The phrase was caught up in America and secret societies were formed whose members, calling themselves "Sons of Liberty," undertook to prevent the enforcement of the Stamp Act. In some places they resorted to mob violence, forcing stamp agents to resign, and breaking into buildings where they thought stamps were kept. In Boston they wrecked the house of Chief Justice Hutchinson and destroyed his library, one of the most valuable in the colonies. The work of these mobs was so well done that few attempts were made to sell the stamps.

135. The Stamp Act Congress. — At the request of Massachusetts, delegates from nine colonies met in New York in October, 1765, to protest to the King and Parliament against the Stamp Act. The resolutions of the congress declared that the colonists could not be taxed except by the consent of their representatives. As their representatives sat in the colonial assemblies and not in British Parliament, it was evident to them that colonial taxes must be voted in the assemblies and not in Parliament.

The Stamp Act Congress was the first general meeting of the colonies brought about by the new tax policy of the

British government. It has been said that the American Union actually began here.

136. The Repeal of the Stamp Act (1766). — Not content with the protest of the Stamp Act Congress and the riots of the Sons of Liberty, the colonists formed agreements not



WILLIAM PITT

to use goods manufactured in England. At the same time American merchants agreed to withhold the payment of debts which they owed in England. These agreements severely injured the business of English merchants, and many of them joined in asking for a repeal of the act. When the question of repeal came up in the House of Commons, Pitt "rejoiced that America had resisted."

He was glad that Americans were not "so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves."

The act was repealed in March, 1766, just a year after its passage. But the repeal was accompanied by a Declaratory Act, asserting the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

News of the repeal was received with outbursts of joy in the colonies. New York erected statues to Pitt and George III. The colonists thought the fight against Parliamentary taxation was won. But less than ten years later they melted the lead in the King's statue to make bullets to shoot at his soldiers.

137. No Taxation without Representation. — Both in England and America men said there must be no taxation

without representation; but the phrase did not have the same meaning on both sides of the Atlantic. In England it meant merely that there must be no taxation without the consent of Parliament; that is, that the King must not be able to tax his subjects. According to the English view, Parliament represented Englishmen everywhere, whether at home or in the colonies, and, therefore, Parliament had a right to tax the colonists as well as the people at home. But the colonists had long been in the habit of looking upon their assemblies as being for them what the Parliament was for Englishmen at home. For three quarters of a century at least, most of the colonies had seen colonial taxes levied in colonial assemblies. When they spoke of no taxation without representation, they meant no taxation except in assemblies whose members had been chosen by the colonists.

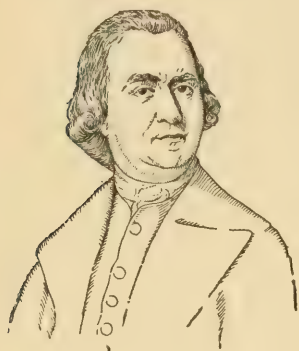
There was here an honest difference of opinion, and, as neither party to the dispute would give way, a conflict was inevitable.

138. Additional Taxes. — The joy of the colonies over the repeal of the Stamp Act was brief. The next year (May, 1767) a new way of raising revenue in America was devised. Duties were to be collected on glass, red and white lead, paper, painters' colors, and tea imported into the colonies.

The new law was made more hateful by the method adopted to enforce it. Persons accused of evading the law were to be denied the right of trial by jury. Besides, revenue received under the act was to be applied to the payment of the salaries of colonial governors and judges, thus taking away from the colonial assemblies all control of those officials.

At the same time, by a special act, Parliament took away the powers of the New York assembly because it refused to furnish supplies to the British soldiers sent to it.

139. The Colonies Defy Parliament. — As soon as word of these new attempts to make the colonies support the army reached America, public feeling was aroused. Samuel Adams, a shrewd political leader in Boston, advised the



SAMUEL ADAMS

Massachusetts assembly to send a circular letter to the other colonies appealing for a united opposition to the new taxes. The letter was well received, and most of the colonial non-importation agreements were again put into force.

The British government was angered by the Massachusetts circular and tried to compel the assembly to recall it, at the same time threatening to dissolve the other colonial assemblies if they welcomed the Massachusetts protest. The colonies defied Parliament and commended the stand of Massachusetts. Otis, speaking in the Massachusetts assembly, warned Britain to "rescind her measures or the colonies are lost to her forever."

140. Mob Violence. — Besides protesting against the new law through their assemblies, the colonists sought to prevent by forceful means the collection of the duties. Riots were frequent and cargoes of dutiable goods were unloaded by armed men who prevented the collection of the imposts. Officers charged with the execution of the laws were tarred and feathered. In response to the appeal from the customs officers at Boston, two regiments of British soldiers were

sent to that city in September, 1768. Parliament fully approved the use of the army to enforce the laws, and in 1769 further outraged American feeling by suggesting that the colonial leaders might be sent to England for trial under an old law of the time of Henry VIII. Virginia led in a vigorous protest against this proposed invasion of a fundamental right of an Englishman to be tried by a jury



THE "BOSTON MASSACRE"

of his own neighborhood. Public opinion was becoming aroused and all the colonies joined in the Virginia protest.

The presence of an armed force in Boston irritated the people, and frequent attacks were made on soldiers in the streets. An encounter between some of the townspeople and the soldiers took place March 2, 1770; three days later a squad of soldiers, one of whose members had been struck

with a club, fired on the mob, killing five persons and wounding six others. This affray, which became known as the "Boston Massacre," created deep resentment against the British government not only in Massachusetts but in the other colonies.

141. The Tea Tax. — These new methods of taxing the colonies were not as successful as the King and his advisors had hoped. The money collected scarcely paid the cost of collection, and on the day of the "Boston Massacre" Lord North, the new Prime Minister, announced his intention of repealing the duties with the exception of that on tea. The tax on tea was retained for the same reason that the Declaratory Act of 1766 was passed, — to proclaim the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. But the colonists were resolved not to pay the tax, and formed societies whose members were pledged not to drink tea on which the duty had been paid.

142. The Formation of Committees of Correspondence. — The need of organizing to assert the rights of the colonists began to be felt, and in 1772 Samuel Adams suggested the appointment of Committees of Correspondence in the various towns of Massachusetts. His suggestion was accepted by two hundred towns, and during the next year the committees thus formed became the foundation of an organization that was soon to include all the colonies. In March, 1773, Virginia proposed committees for intercolonial correspondence, and by July of that year committees were at work in six colonies building the foundation for a permanent union.

143. The Boston Tea Party (December, 1773). — The King and his advisers had not repealed the tax on tea, because they were very anxious to show that they had a right

to tax the colonies. But the colonists boycotted English tea and either smuggled tea from Holland or went without it. In 1773 Lord North made a new attempt to induce the colonists to accept the tax. Up to this time tea coming into England paid a duty of a shilling a pound and then three pence more on being imported into America. It was now arranged that tea coming to America should pass through England free of charge and pay only the three pence tax in America. Thus the colonists could buy tea much cheaper than people in England and in fact cheaper than it could be smuggled.

Thinking that the colonists could not resist buying upon these easy terms, English merchants sent over cargoes of tea to the chief colonial ports, but everywhere the sale of tea was forcibly resisted. In Charleston it was stored until after the Declaration of Independence, and in New York and Philadelphia the tea ships were sent back to England. In Boston the authorities made preparations to land the tea under the protection of the guns of the British navy, but before they could carry out their intention a party of about fifty men, dressed as Mohawk Indians and led by Samuel Adams, boarded the vessels (December 16, 1773) and emptied into Boston harbor tea worth about ninety thousand dollars. This wholly lawless destruction of property, directed by leading men of the colony, showed that the colonists were willing to go to extremes in their opposition to taxation.

144. Massachusetts Is Punished. — The King and those who advised him were determined to make an example of Massachusetts. They were strengthened in this resolution by reports made by General Gage, who had recently returned from America. Gage assured the King that the

colonists were great talkers but would quickly become "very meek" if the King acted resolutely.

The punishment of Massachusetts took the form of a series of laws known in England as the Repressive Acts and in America as the Intolerable Acts.

(1) Of these the Boston Port Bill was the most resented. By it the port of Boston was closed and ships of war were placed in the harbor to see that the act was enforced until the King should be pleased to open the port. As the people of Boston depended almost entirely on their sea-going commerce, this act would have caused intense suffering had not food and money been given freely by the people of other colonies. George Washington of Virginia, it is recorded, gave fifty pounds.

(2) The Charter of Massachusetts was changed by the Regulating Act and the crown given the appointment of many executive and judicial officers that had formerly been chosen by the people of the colony. Town meetings were forbidden except when authorized in writing by the governor. This attempt to destroy popular government in Massachusetts aroused people outside that colony as well as within. If Parliament could thus set aside the charter of Massachusetts, it might soon attack the liberties of every colony in America.

(3) The third act provided that officers accused of murder or other grave offenses be sent to England or to another colony for trial, if the act complained of was committed in suppressing a riot or enforcing the revenue laws. Parliament thought that by this arrangement the officers would be more vigorous in enforcing laws.

(4) To aid the enforcement of these acts, a fourth was passed, permitting troops to be quartered upon the people,

and General Gage, who favored repressive methods, was made governor of Massachusetts.

145. The Quebec Act. — The Quebec Act, passed at the same time, though it had nothing to do with the trouble in Boston, greatly disturbed the colonists. By its terms, the province of Quebec, including the land between the Ohio and the Great Lakes, was established, and in the new province the Catholic religion was legalized. The land claims of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia in the region north of the Ohio were disregarded. The loss of their lands and their fear of Catholicism increased the bitterness with which the colonists received the Repressive Acts.

146. Suggestions for a Congress. — In May, 1774, when the news reached Boston that the port was to be closed,



RALEIGH TAVERN, WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

the Correspondence Committees of Massachusetts appealed to the other colonies for united action. Virginia, through its House of Burgesses, was the first to answer. That body set aside June 1, the day the Port Bill was to be put in force, as a day of fasting and prayer "to give us one

heart and one mind firmly to oppose by all just and proper means every injury to American rights." The governor dissolved the assembly, but the members met at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg the next day. They suggested that the interests of the colonies required an annual congress in which every colony would be represented. The other colonies welcomed the suggestion of Virginia and all but Georgia named delegates to the First Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia in September.

147. The First Continental Congress (1774). — This congress had no legal power to act for the colonies, but it recommended the formation of a large association whose members would be pledged neither to import English goods nor to export goods to any English port. Local committees were to be appointed in each town or county to aid the work of the association, by making public the names of those who refused to take part in the anti-English boycott and in other ways to make life unpleasant for the Tories, as those who were not in favor of resistance were called.

148. Preparing for Revolution. — The recommendation of Congress met with a general acceptance, and Committees of Public Safety were appointed in every colony to see that the non-importation agreement was carried out. Acts of violence were resorted to by the "patriots" in their campaign against those who refused to boycott English goods. In some of the colonies the governors grew alarmed at the growing spirit of resistance and refused to let the assemblies meet. But in spite of this interference, local committees undertook to arm and equip troops.

As the time approached for the meeting of the Second Continental Congress, it was seen that the King and his

ministers had no thought of acceding to the colonial demands. Delegates were, therefore, chosen for the meeting in May, 1775. But before they came together in Philadelphia, there was heard in the north "the clash of resounding arms."

149. Fighting at Lexington and Concord.—General Gage had been sent to Massachusetts as governor to enforce the Intolerable Acts. He was unable, however, to exercise much authority outside of Boston, which he had fortified



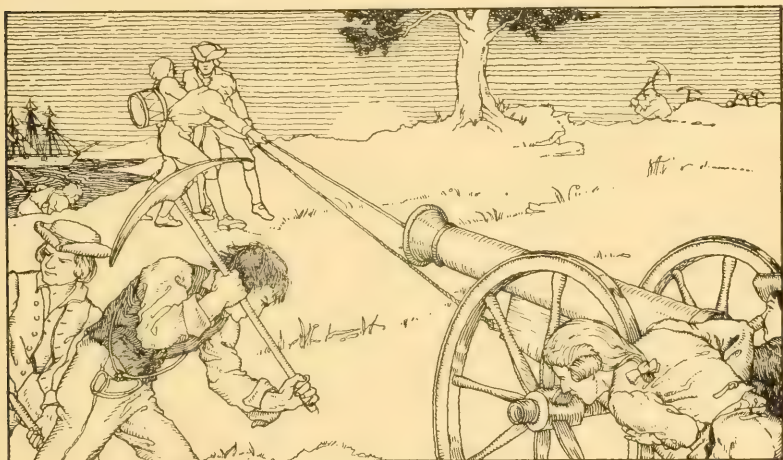
THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON

against attacks from the colonists. As the spring of 1775 approached, he saw that his danger was increasing, and, to offset the preparations of the colonists, he undertook to seize military stores which had been gathered at Concord, about eighteen miles from Boston. But the patriot party was on the watch, and when eight hundred British troops left Boston on the evening of April 18 their departure was soon made known. Across the Charles River, Paul

Revere, who had seen a signal in the tower of the North Church, mounted his horse and galloped off to rouse the minutemen of the neighboring towns. At Lexington, which they reached at daybreak, the British found sixty minutemen drawn up to bar the way. At a volley from the British guns the militia fled, leaving eight of their number dead and ten wounded. Going on to Concord, the regulars destroyed the stores that the townspeople had not time to carry away. By this time large numbers of militia had assembled and the British began a hasty retreat. From behind rocks and trees and fences the Massachusetts men fired at the retreating column. Nearly three hundred British soldiers were among the killed, wounded, and missing, and the loss would have been greater but for the timely aid of 1500 fresh troops sent by Gage from Boston. Ninety-three of the militia were killed and wounded. Thousands of volunteers followed the British to Boston and laid siege to that town.

150. The Second Continental Congress (1775). — The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775. In spite of the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord, Congress hoped for a peaceful settlement of the dispute with England. An address to the King was adopted, in which he was asked to withdraw his soldiers and repeal the laws to which the colonists objected. But while hoping for peace, Congress meant to prepare for war, if war was to come. Though it had no legal authority to assume the powers of government, people everywhere were looking to Congress for leadership. After a few weeks it decided to raise money to arm and feed the soldiers about Boston, and appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of the Continental armies.

151. The Battle of Bunker Hill. — Before Washington arrived to take command of the troops that were besieging Boston, a battle had been fought at that place. American forces under Colonel Prescott took possession of Breed's Hill, a height north of Boston, and began the construction of earthworks from the shelter of which they might command the entrance to the inner harbor. To prevent the completion of the work, General Gage ordered an attack upon

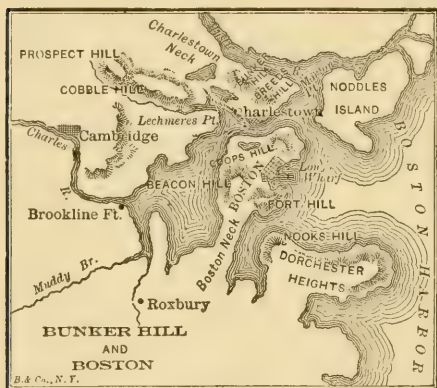


FORTIFYING BREED'S HILL

the American position, June 17. The battle which followed has always been known as the battle of Bunker Hill from the name of a neighboring height which Prescott had been ordered to fortify. As the English troops in their red coats marched steadily up the hill, the American leader commanded his men not to fire "until you see the whites of their eyes." His order was obeyed, and when at length a murderous volley sped from the American line, the British attack was broken with terrible loss. A second

time the British troops came and again were driven back. Reënforced, they made a third assault. But now the ammunition of the colonial soldiers was gone and the men, fighting only with the butts of their muskets, retired, leaving the British in possession of the field.

The British losses were over one thousand killed and wounded, while the Americans lost less than half that



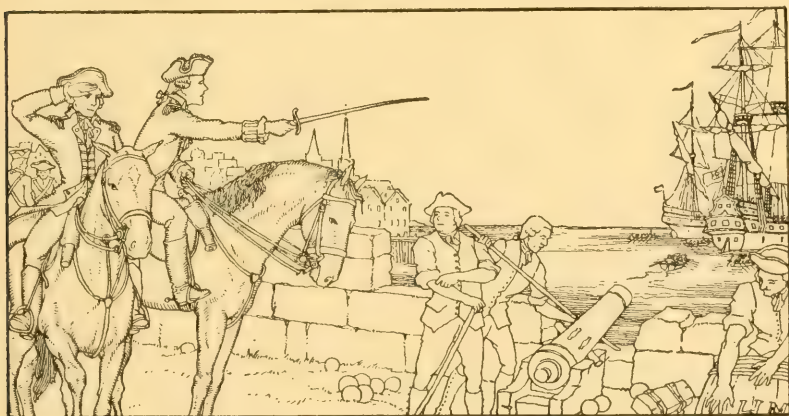
number. "I wish we could sell them another hill at the same price," said one of the American officers. The fight so stirred the anger of both parties to the conflict that a peaceful settlement of their dispute was no longer possible. It showed also that Gage was mistaken when he

thought a few regiments would be enough to keep the colonists in order. He was removed from command and his place given to Sir William Howe.

152. The Evacuation of Boston. — Washington took command of the colonial troops at Cambridge, July 2. His first work was to drill his men, who had little military training, and to prevent them from leaving when their short terms of enlistment expired. There was much jealousy among the officers, and ammunition and other supplies were lacking, but Washington's reputation as a soldier in the French and Indian War won their respect, and his vigorous insistence on discipline soon brought order into the affairs of the camp.

In the early summer of 1775, Ethan Allen, of Vermont, with troops he had raised in New England, had taken Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain and with them considerable stores of ammunition and guns. These were brought to Washington's army and proved to be of great value. The capture of a British vessel with 2000 muskets and a large amount of ammunition was also of assistance.

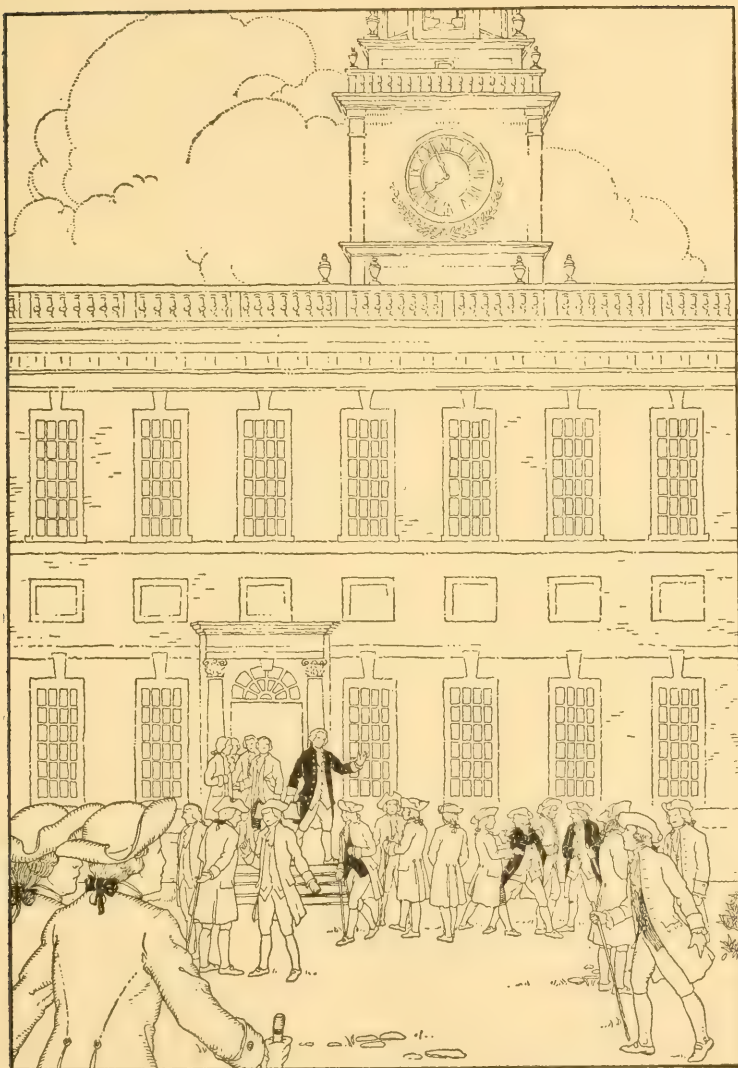
By the following spring Washington was ready to press the siege, and on March 4, 1776, seized Dorchester Heights



THE BRITISH EVACUATE BOSTON

to the south of Boston and placed cannon to command the city harbor. Howe realized that it was possible for Washington to destroy every ship in the harbor and decided to abandon the city.

He embarked his army and on March 17 began the evacuation of the city. Sailing for Halifax, he took with him about a thousand people of Boston who were loyal to the King and did not wish to remain in the city when it fell into the hands of the "rebels."



ANNOUNCING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Americans who talked publicly of separating from England were not numerous in the early months of 1775, but, as the unyielding attitude of the King came to be known, the idea of independence spread among the "rebels." As late as September, Jefferson still looked "with fondness towards a reconciliation," and the American army chaplains in public services in camp still prayed for King George. But in the early days of 1776, the great change which had come over public opinion was seen in the enthusiasm which greeted a pamphlet called *Common Sense*, written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman who had recently come to America.

Common Sense appeared in January, 1776, and in three months a hundred twenty thousand copies were sold,— enough to give every third family in America a copy. It was a plea for independence, and its wide circulation showed how well its author read the thoughts of the "rebels." He declared that the period of debate was closed: that arms must decide; that government of our own was our natural right; that the King of America reigned above and did not make havoc of mankind like the royal brute of Britain. When sentiments like these became popular, a declaration of independence was not far off.

155. The Declaration of Independence.—Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, on June 7 introduced in Congress a resolution declaring that the colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent. On July 2 Lee's resolution was adopted. John Adams, a Massachusetts delegate and one of the first advocates of independence, expressed his joy over the event in a letter to his wife in which he said:

The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by

succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward forevermore.

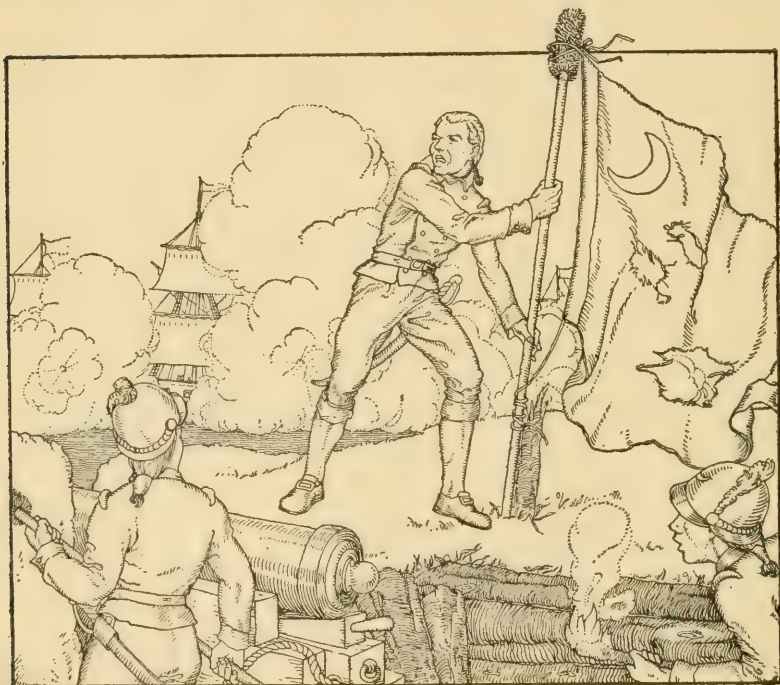
A committee of Congress had been appointed to draw up a statement of the reasons which led the colonies to assert their independence. This statement in eloquent language pointed out the belief of the colonists that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is the duty of the government to protect these rights, and, if it fails, it is the duty of the people to set up a new government. Many cases in which the British government had trampled on American rights were pointed out, and it was shown that appeals to the English King and people were of no avail. There was nothing for the colonies to do but to set up a government of their own.

The committee's report, which was written by Thomas Jefferson and is known as the Declaration of Independence, was accepted by Congress on July 4. It made so deep an impression on the minds of the Americans that they chose the day of its acceptance, July 4, as their great anniversary festival and not July 2 as John Adams predicted.

THE WAR BEFORE THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

156. The British Plan to Capture New York and Charleston. — After Howe sailed away from Boston, the first serious attack made by the British was at Charleston, South Carolina. There were many Loyalists in the South, and it was

thought that the presence of even a small army in that section would prevent the Southern States from taking part in the war. A British fleet, carrying an army under General Clinton, reached Charleston in June, but was driven off with great damage by Colonel Moultrie, who commanded the



DEFENDING THE CITY OF CHARLESTON

fort on Sullivan's Island near the entrance to Charleston harbor. While Clinton was making his attempt to capture Charleston, Howe determined to occupy the important city of New York. Washington recognized the importance of New York and undertook to defend it with the troops at

his command. He fortified the city and placed a strong force across the East River on Long Island.

157. The Battle of Long Island. — Howe, who at times showed a great deal of energy, decided that the easiest way to approach the city was by Long Island. Toward the end of August, 1776, he landed his army and by a night march surprised the American force under General Putnam at Brooklyn Heights and defeated it. Washington secured boats, and under the protection of a heavy fog, took the beaten army back to New York. He now felt unable to hold the city and withdrew up the Hudson.

158. The Retreat through New Jersey. — A few months later Howe took Forts Washington and Lee, which guarded the Hudson above New York; with these posts the Americans lost 2600 of their best troops and much valuable war material. Washington, meanwhile, had moved his army to the New Jersey side of the river and taken up a position at Newark. His soldiers were becoming discouraged and many of them went home. Howe thought the war was about over and sent Lord Cornwallis with 5000 men to complete the destruction of the patriot forces. Washington retreated through New Jersey and crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania on December 8, just as the British troops arrived at Trenton. The American leader seized the boats for many miles along the river and made his army safe from pursuit.

The patriot cause looked hopeless, and Howe's offer of pardon to those who would submit was accepted by thousands. Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore and gave Washington power to carry on the war as best he could.

159. American Successes at Trenton and Princeton. — By a bold stroke Washington revived American hopes.

At Trenton there was a force of 1400 Hessians who had been hired by George III to make war on the colonists. On Christmas night Washington crossed the Delaware, surprised the Hessians, took 1000 of them prisoners, and got back to Pennsylvania in safety. He again crossed to New Jersey and, on January 3, 1777, defeated a strong British force at Princeton.

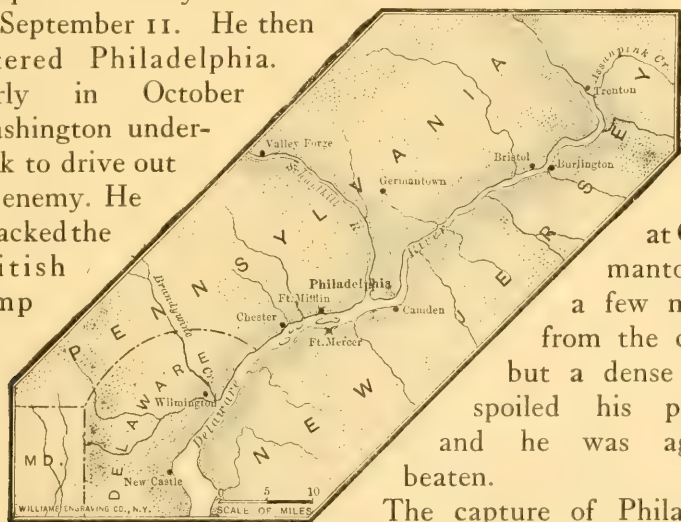
These striking successes gave the patriots confidence in their leader and promoted the enlistment of new troops. The British also learned to respect the fighting qualities of Washington and withdrew to New York.

160. The British Plans for 1777. — Washington passed the winter at Morristown, New Jersey, trying very hard to build up his forces, but in spite of liberal offers he had only 4000 regular troops by spring. Besides these he had some regiments of militia. It was not a very large force to oppose the armies which England was now preparing to put in the field.

A large force which the British had in Canada, under the leadership of General Burgoyne, was ordered to join Howe on the Hudson by way of Lake Champlain. Another force, under St. Leger, was to come from Oswego, on Lake Ontario, through the Mohawk Valley. The English ministry thought that the junction of these forces and those which Howe had in New York would permit that commander to put a speedy end to American resistance.

But the ministry's plans were doomed to failure. Burgoyne had been a capable soldier in Europe but proved a poor leader in the American wilderness. The ministry neglected to send orders to Howe to advance up the Hudson to assist Burgoyne, and Howe, left free to make his own plans, decided to capture Philadelphia.

161. The Occupation of Philadelphia by the British (September, 1777). — In the summer of 1777, Howe put his army aboard a great fleet which he had collected at New York, and sailed for Chesapeake Bay. Marching overland from the head of the bay, he met and defeated Washington's troops at Brandywine Creek on September 11. He then entered Philadelphia. Early in October Washington undertook to drive out the enemy. He attacked the British camp



at Germantown, a few miles from the city, but a dense fog spoiled his plans and he was again beaten.

The capture of Philadelphia was of little value to the British, as Congress escaped

to Lancaster, where it continued its session. Had Howe gone to the aid of Burgoyne, he might have brought the war to a close by preventing the disaster that overtook the British forces in the north.

162. Burgoyne's Slow Advance. — Burgoyne left Canada early in June, 1777, with about 8000 troops. In a month he had taken Fort Ticonderoga, but from there his progress was extremely slow, as the country was largely a wilderness and the roads were obstructed by trees felled by the retreat-

ing Americans. It was difficult to get the supply wagons through, and, by the time Burgoyne reached Fort Edward on the Hudson, he was fearful that his army would starve. He sent a force of 1000 men into Vermont to seize supplies at Bennington. John Stark, who had been a colonel in Washington's army, raised a force of New Hampshire militia and captured 800 of the British. This exploit stirred the enthusiasm of the New Englanders, and thousands of them took up arms, hoping that Burgoyne's entire force might be taken.

Hardly had Burgoyne heard the news of his heavy loss at Bennington when information came that he could expect no aid from St. Leger. That commander, proceeding from Oswego on Lake Ontario, made an attack on Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk River. The approach of an army of 800 German farmers of the Mohawk Valley interfered with his plans; in the latter part of August, 1777, when a second American relief expedition under Benedict Arnold arrived from the American army on the Hudson, St. Leger took fright and fled to Lake Ontario.

The American troops were much encouraged by their success at Bennington and the retreat of St. Leger. Militia from New England and New York joined the army in large numbers, and by September General Gage, the American commander, had 20,000 men with whom to face Burgoyne's force, which had been reduced to about 5000 by his loss at Bennington, by desertions, and by the necessity of leaving garrisons to protect his communication with Canada. A skirmish on October 7 cost Burgoyne 600 men and showed that he could not break through the American lines. He began to retreat, but at Saratoga he permitted himself to be surrounded, and on October 17 felt compelled to surrender his entire army.



BATTLE OF BENNINGTON

163. The Results of Burgoyne's Surrender. — The victory of Saratoga revealed to the British government the difficulty of their task of conquering the colonies. The King sent commissioners to offer anything the Americans wanted, short of independence. But the French, who had watched the conflict with eager interest, now made an alliance with America, and the English commissioners had to go home empty-handed.

Vocabulary

advocate	customs	patriots	trial by jury
affray	independence	rescind	veto
boycott	legality	Tory	

Map Exercises

Where was the province of Quebec located? Show, on a map, the movements of the English and colonial armies during the campaigns of 1776-1777.

Locate: Concord, Lexington, Bennington, Ticonderoga, Trenton, Princeton, Saratoga.

Questions

1. Give three reasons why the colonists were becoming independent.
2. How did the king misuse his veto power?
3. What was a "writ of assistance"? How were they abused by the English government?
4. To whom did Otis refer when he said: "Acts of that kind had cost one king of England his head and another his throne"?
5. What was the purpose of the stamp tax?
6. Who was the Virginia leader in this "period of debate"?
7. Give the date and state the purpose of the Stamp Act Congress?
8. What principle of taxation did it set forth? How was this principle differently interpreted in England and in the colonies?
9. How did Parliament re-assert its right to tax, after repealing the Stamp Act?
10. Why did the colonies want to control the salaries of government judges, etc.?
11. What two ways had colonists of protesting against these laws? With what success did these protests meet?
12. What was the Boston Massacre?
13. Why was the tax

on tea retained? Why did the colonists refuse to drink tea? 14. What was the purpose of the Committees of Correspondence? Where were they started? How did they spread? 15. Why did England punish Massachusetts? 16. Explain the Boston Port Bill. 17. What attempts were made on popular government in Massachusetts? Why were all the colonies alarmed? 18. How were the land claims of the colonies threatened at this time? 19. Give the date, the place of meeting, and the purpose of the First Continental Congress. 20. What was the most important thing done by this Congress? 21. Where is Concord? What happened there? 22. What did the Second Continental Congress attempt to do? What did it accomplish? 23. What was the effect of the battle of Bunker Hill on the relations between England and the colonies? 24. What were Washington's difficulties as commander-in-chief of the army? 25. Describe Ethan Allen's great achievement. 26. Why was a plan formed by the colonies to attack Canada? 27. Give the contents of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. 28. Give the date, purpose, and contents of the Declaration of Independence. 29. How did New York fall into British hands? 30. How did Washington restore confidence to his army and the people after repeated British victories in 1776-1777? 31. What was the British plan of campaign in 1777? 32. How and why did the plan fail? How was its failure received in England?

II

164. The Alliance with France. — The French, from the beginning of the war, had shown a sympathetic attitude toward the rebellious colonies of their traditional enemy; they had given a practical turn to their sympathy by advancing secret loans to Silas Deane, the American agent in Paris, and by inducing Spain to make similar loans in large amounts. Though the French government was not prepared in the first two years of the war to recognize American independence, many Frenchmen offered their services to the patriot cause. Best known among them was the Marquis de Lafayette, who, with thirteen other French officers, came to America in 1777.

The report of Burgoyne's defeat, which reached Paris in December, 1777, was received with great joy in the French capital. The king now offered openly to support



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

the American cause, and on February 6, 1778, a treaty of alliance between France and the United States was signed. By its terms France recognized the independence of America, and the Americans on their part promised not to make peace without the approval of France. At the same time a commercial treaty was arranged between the two countries.

165. The Sufferings at Valley Forge. — News of the French alliance arrived in America at one of the gloomiest periods of the war. Washington and his troops in their winter quarters at Valley Forge were suffering extreme hardships. The soldiers were so poorly provided with food and clothing and their situation seemed so hopeless that nearly one fifth of them deserted to the British, who were living in excellent quarters a few miles away in Philadelphia. Congress was attempting to pay the soldiers and to purchase supplies by issuing great quantities of paper money which had almost ceased to have any value. Men in the army and in Congress turned against Washington and sought to deprive of his command the one man who was able to keep the patriot forces together. The saddest part of the story of Valley Forge is that the sufferings of the

soldiers were unnecessary. Their route as they marched to their winter quarters could be traced by the blood from their unshod feet, but at the same moment, as John Fiske has pointed out, "hogsheds of shoes, stockings, and clothing



A WINTER AT VALLEY FORGE

were lying at different places on the route and in the woods, perishing for want of teams or of money to pay the teamsters." The country was well able to feed and clothe its troops, but the congressional government was inefficient.

It was fortunate that the English military leaders were men of little ability. Their lack of vigor permitted the conflict to drag on until the forces of America and France could be joined for the decisive blow.

166. The Evacuation of Philadelphia. — The French alliance brought about a change in England's plans. As a result, Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe in command at Philadelphia, was ordered to concentrate his forces at New York. He left Philadelphia June 18, 1778. Washington quickly followed in pursuit and ten days later

came up with Clinton near Monmouth, New Jersey. The American leader's plans for a vigorous attack on the enemy were defeated by the treachery and disobedience of General Charles Lee, who was to lead the advance. Early in the engagement Lee ordered a retreat, and only the timely arrival of Washington prevented a disaster. The American lines were re-formed and the British advance was stopped. Clinton did not care to seek a decisive battle, but hurriedly moved off to New York, where he arrived in safety.

167. Loyalist Aid to the British. — The indecisive field of Monmouth proved to be the last important battle of the war in the North. Though minor engagements later took place in that section of the country, they had no great influence on the final result. In 1779 Clinton made an effort to capture the American posts on the Hudson. He succeeded in taking Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, but a few weeks later the American forces, under the leadership of General Anthony Wayne, in a well-planned night attack, recaptured Stony Point and destroyed it (July, 1779). During this summer Clinton increased the horrors of war by promoting numerous raids on coast towns in New England and as far south as Virginia, where buildings were burned, crops ruined, and other property destroyed. Many of the raiders who took part in these expeditions were "Tories," as the Americans who had remained loyal to the English crown were called. New York alone furnished over twenty thousand men for the British land and naval forces during the Revolution, and at one time it was said that the number of Loyalists among Clinton's forces exceeded Washington's Continental army.

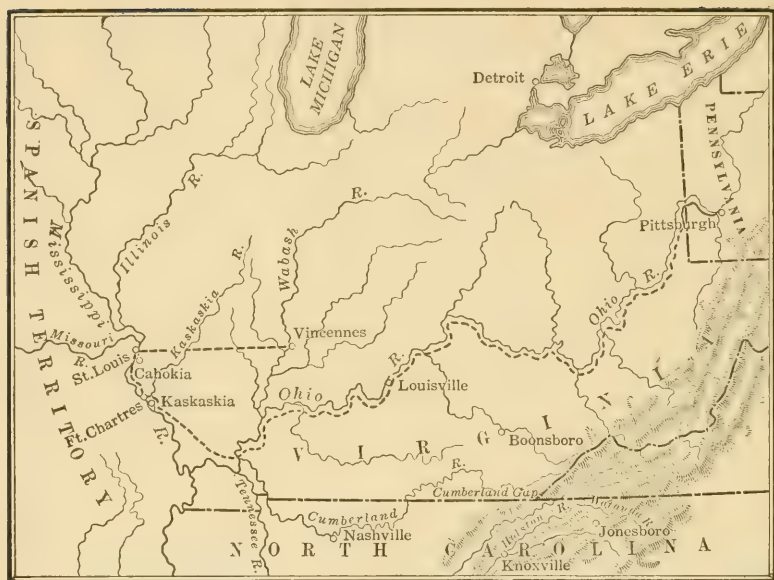
168. Indian Warfare. — Both sides in the conflict sought the aid of the Indian tribes of the frontier, but the English

were the more successful. In 1778 a force of Tories and Seneca Indians, under the leadership of the Tory Colonel Butler and his Indian ally, Joseph Brant, ravaged the beautiful Wyoming Valley in northwestern Pennsylvania, where they killed many women and children. In November of the same year Butler and Brant burned the village of Cherry Valley in central New York and murdered about fifty persons.

Congress was finally aroused by these murderous raids and sent General Sullivan to punish the Tories and their Indian allies. In August, 1779, he defeated the Tory forces at Newtown, and later inflicted severe punishment on the Senecas, but the raids continued to disturb the frontier till the end of the war.

169. The War in the West. — Early in the Revolution the Indians of the West were incited by the British to attack the American settlements in what is now Kentucky and Tennessee. The Cherokees in the South were soon compelled to make peace, but the tribes north of the Ohio continued their raids, and by the end of 1777 only a few hundred whites remained in Kentucky. Henry Hamilton, who commanded the British post at Detroit, promoted this Indian warfare by paying the savages for the scalps which they brought to him, thus earning for himself the title of the "hair-buying general."

George Rogers Clark, an able frontier leader, planned to put an end to the Indian war by capturing the British posts in the northwest. With a commission from Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia, in the early summer of 1778, Clark, with 150 men, set out for the West. He floated down the Ohio to the mouth of the Cumberland and from there marched a hundred twenty miles across a difficult country



THE EXPEDITION OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

to Kaskaskia on the Mississippi. The commander of this post was completely surprised and submitted without a struggle. When they found that their religion would be respected and that their fatherland was now fighting in alliance with the Americans, the French settlers readily took the oath of loyalty to the United States. Father Peter Gibault, the priest of the district, gave efficient aid to Clark, helping him to get volunteers from among the French residents, and, by a personal visit to Vincennes on the Wabash, persuading that community to accept the American rule.

General Hamilton, at Detroit, hearing of Clark's exploits, raised a force of British and Indians and recaptured Vincennes in December, 1778. But Hamilton's success was

brief; two months later Clark, with a force of one hundred seventy Americans and French backwoodsmen, suddenly appeared before the fort at Vincennes, and the "hair-buyer," finding resistance hopeless, surrendered with his garrison.

From this time the posts which were gained by the military ability of Clark and the good-will of Father Gibault remained in American hands, and by the treaty of peace which ended the war the English gave up all claim to the Northwest. After the war the possession of these rich western lands in which all of the states were interested did much to hasten the formation of a national union.

THE NAVY IN THE REVOLUTION

170. The Work of Privateers. — During the war the American navy was not able to compete with the great naval power of England, but by striking at English merchant ships it did great damage to the enemy's commerce. About fifty men-of-war, both large and small, were commissioned by Congress during the conflict. Most of the states also had war vessels in commission, but chiefly for harbor defense. Private ship owners were given "letters of marque and reprisal," which permitted them to arm their ships and prey upon English commerce. In New England especially, great numbers of privateers, as these ships were called, were fitted out and won for their owners large profits from the sale of English ships and cargoes that they captured. London merchants estimated the value of the goods lost by capture during the first year of the war at £1,800,000. Even before the French alliance, the friendly attitude of the French permitted American privateers to bring their prizes into French ports for sale.

171. The Father of the American Navy. — The first vessel fitted out under the authority of the Continental Congress was the *Lexington*, so named for the first battle of the Revolution. John Barry, a native of Ireland who had come to Philadelphia as a boy, was commissioned captain of the *Lexington* early in December, 1775. He fought throughout the war, commanding various ships and greatly aiding the revolutionary cause. When Colonel



CAPTAIN JOHN BARRY

John Laurens was named commissioner to France to secure sorely needed funds for the Continental army, Captain Barry was detailed to convey him across the Atlantic. A similar duty was laid upon him when Lafayette, after the victory of Yorktown, went to France on an im-

portant mission. In after years, when Washington became president of the United States, steps were taken to provide a naval armament, and Barry was named the ranking officer of the new navy. Shortly after his death in 1803 the title "The Father of the American Navy" was attached to his name. In 1914 the nation erected a monument to Captain Barry in the national capital.

172. John Paul Jones. — John Paul Jones, a Scotchman by birth, became famous for his naval exploits in the Revolution. He received a lieutenant's commission the same

day that Barry was given command of the *Lexington*. Within a year he was made a captain and soon won fame on account of his raids upon English ships in English waters. In 1779 he secured from the French king four ships, the largest one being the *Bon Homme Richard*, of forty-four guns. Cruising in the North Sea near the mouth of the Humber he came up with a fleet of English merchantmen convoyed by the *Serapis*, a vessel of fifty guns, and another man-of-war. The fight which followed was a duel between the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard*. Finding his guns inferior to those of the enemy, Jones decided to run alongside the *Serapis* and board her. The first attempt failed and the English commander called out to ask if he had struck his colors. "Struck!" replied Jones, "I have not begun to fight." His second attempt to come alongside succeeded; the ships were tied together and after a desperate hand-to-hand struggle the *Serapis* surrendered. Congress had a gold medal struck in honor of the victory, while the King of England knighted the captain of the *Serapis* for his heroic defense of his ship. "If I fall in with him again, I will make a lord of him," said Jones.



JOHN PAUL JONES

173. Naval Aid of France, Spain, and Holland. — Though Barry and Jones, by their daring seamanship, taught the English to respect the small American navy, it was England's European enemies that took from her the mastery of the

sea. France, from the time of her alliance with America, attacked England upon the water; Spain soon gave aid as an ally of France, and, finally, England drove the Dutch into the ranks of her enemies. This powerful alliance gradually obtained control of the sea and thus France was enabled to send men and ships to strike at Yorktown the blow which decided the conflict.

THE WAR IN THE SOUTH

174. **The War in Georgia and North Carolina.** — Following the battle of Monmouth, the English turned their attention to the South, where they were told there were a large number of Loyalists who would be glad to see that section of the country under English rule. After more than three years of fighting, the English held little of the territory of their rebellious colonies except New York and Newport, Rhode Island, so the prospect of a ready conquest of the South was all the more pleasing. Savannah was captured in December, 1778, and by the next spring nearly all of Georgia was held by the British. General Lincoln, who had done good work in the campaign against Burgoyne, was now in command in the South and he secured the coöperation of a French fleet under Count d'Estaing for an attack on Savannah. On October 9, 1779, after a siege of three weeks, an assault was attempted which ended in disaster. One thousand men were lost, among them the gallant Polish count, Pulaski, who had been in the American service for two years. The winter storms compelled the French fleet to withdraw and the siege was abandoned.

In the winter following, Clinton arrived in the South with a fleet and an army greatly outnumbering that under Lincoln's command. Instead of keeping a line of retreat

open to the interior the American leader permitted himself to be shut up in Charleston, and in May, 1780, was compelled to surrender the city and his entire army. Clinton returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis in command. Colonel Tarleton, who was sent to ravage the interior of the South, defeated an American force at Waxhaw, where he savagely refused quarter to the Americans who fell into his hands. Over one hundred were killed, and one hundred fifty were severely wounded, after they had offered to surrender. One effect of this savagery was to stir up in many Southerners a desire for vengeance. So they organized themselves into irregular bands, which attacked small detachments of the English wherever opportunity offered. Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, Andrew Pickens, and others earned fame as leaders of these guerrilla bands.

175. The British Victory at Camden.—After the loss of Lincoln's army, there was put in the southern field a new force, composed for the most part of two thousand well-drilled troops, sent from the Hudson by Washington. The commander-in-chief wanted General



GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Greene to succeed Lincoln, but Congress took the matter out of his hands and appointed General Horatio Gates, to whom Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga. At Camden, on August 16, 1780, Gates was crushingly defeated by Corn-

wallis. He fled from the field, riding sixty miles on the day of the battle and continuing his flight until he was nearly two hundred miles from the foe. His army was destroyed as a fighting force; its losses included the brave Baron de Kalb, a French officer who had entered the American service early in the war and now gave his life in an attempt to undo the blunders of Gates.

176. The Battle of King's Mountain. — Their victory at Camden pleased the British greatly. "We look on America as at our feet," said Horace Walpole when the news reached England. As Cornwallis moved north after the battle many Loyalists joined his army, and he might well believe that the South would soon be in his possession. He sent Major Ferguson with a thousand Loyalists to the West to collect supplies and then rejoin him at Charlotte, North Carolina. On October 7, 1780, this detachment was surrounded by a force of backwoodsmen at King's Mountain. Ferguson and two hundred of his men were killed and the survivors were forced to surrender.

The crushing defeat of Ferguson's army seriously interfered with the plans of Cornwallis, who had by this time entered North Carolina. Feeling the need of more men, he withdrew to South Carolina to await reinforcements. King's Mountain marked a turn in the fortunes of the war, though at the time neither the Americans nor the English were aware of it.

177. A Time of Gloom. — The time was one of extreme depression and many despaired of American success. Not even at Valley Forge had the patriot cause seemed so hopeless. Washington himself had "almost ceased to hope." His troops on the Hudson were "constantly on the point of starving," he wrote. Mutiny and sedition had entered

the army and each month from one hundred to two hundred deserters joined the British camp at New York. Washington declared that unless aid reached him the situation "must soon become desperate beyond the possibility of recovery."

The paper money issued by Congress was all but worthless; Samuel Adams, who was not given to extravagance in dress, wore a suit of clothes and a hat for which he had paid two thousand dollars in paper money. Had it not been for the money received from foreign loans, the army of Washington would very likely have disbanded. From every side came reports that the people were tired of war and willing to accept peace at almost any price.

In the midst of this depression came the news of the treason of Benedict Arnold (September, 1780). He had been put in command of the highly important post at West Point by Washington, who had complete confidence in him. Arnold, who had been a brave and capable soldier, had fallen deeply into debt, and had quarreled with Congress, which had refused him as rapid promotion as he thought his services merited. Prompted, no doubt, by his need of money and a desire for revenge, he offered to betray West Point to Clinton in return for 10,000 guineas and a Major-general's commission in the British army. His plans became known and West Point was saved, though Arnold escaped to the British lines and received the reward of his perfidy.

"Whom can we trust now?" asked Washington when he heard of the treason. "Is Arnold the only traitor in the army or are others willing to sell themselves to the enemy?" was a question that must have disturbed even the most hopeful among the patriot leaders.

178. The American Victory at Cowpens. — After the flight of Gates from Camden, Greene had been sent South

to take command, and by the first of the year 1781 had got together 2300 men, about one half of them trained soldiers.

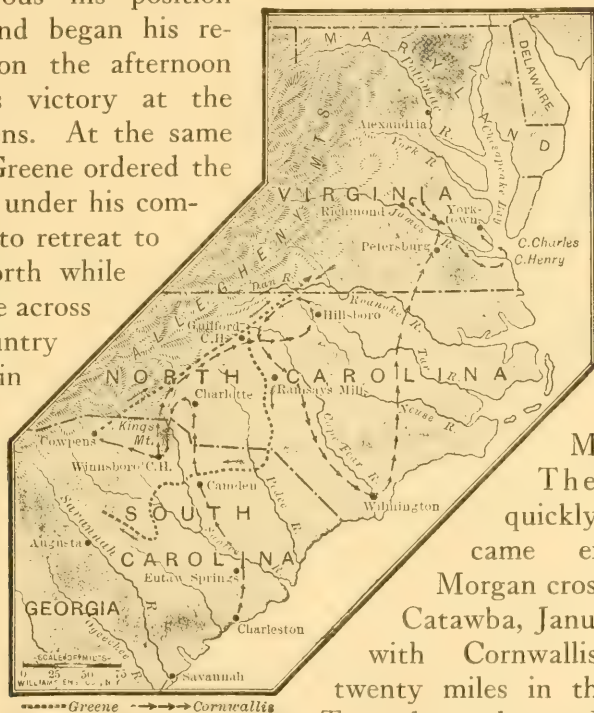


GENERAL DANIEL MORGAN

Cornwallis had a force superior in numbers and entirely composed of veterans, and the American leader, therefore, was unable to force the fighting. In order to keep up the courage of the Westerners who had done such good work at King's Mountain, he sent General Morgan with a detachment of troops into the western country. With the American army thus divided, Cornwallis was encouraged to put himself between the two wings in order to destroy them separately.

The British leader dispatched a force of about 1150 men under Tarleton to take care of Morgan in the West. Morgan meanwhile received reinforcements which brought his command up to 940 men, and on January 17 offered battle at Cowpens, some miles west of King's Mountain. The American leader handled his force with great skill; as his first and second lines gave way, the British thought the battle won and pushed forward in disorder only to be met with a withering fire from the third line, composed largely of veterans. At the same time a group of cavalry, held in reserve, attacked the British right flank. The enemy's disorder was complete, and after nearly two hundred British soldiers had been killed or wounded, six hundred others surrendered. This striking victory over superior numbers greatly encouraged the American troops.

179. The Retreat of the British from South Carolina. — Cornwallis, who was only fifty miles away, soon heard of the disaster to Tarleton and hastened north to cut off Morgan before he could unite with Greene. But Morgan knew how dangerous his position was and began his retreat on the afternoon of his victory at the Cowpens. At the same time Greene ordered the troops under his command to retreat to the north while he rode across the country to join



THE FIELD OF THE CAMPAIGNS
OF GREENE AND CORNWALLIS

Morgan.
The race quickly became exciting; Morgan crossed the Catawba, January 24, with Cornwallis only twenty miles in the rear. Ten days later Morgan crossed the Yadkin, and here, although the sudden

rising of the river delayed his pursuit, Cornwallis was in time to seize some of the wagons of the retreating Americans. The union of the American forces was effected a few days later, and in March Greene offered battle at Guilford

Courthouse in North Carolina. The Americans lost heavily but were able to withdraw in good order. Cornwallis, though holding his ground, had lost one fourth of his army and, as the inhabitants of the country failed to join his forces as he had been led to expect that they would, he withdrew to Wilmington on the coast.

Greene now turned his attention to South Carolina, and by the end of summer, though several times defeated in battle, he had driven the British forces from every post in that state except Charleston. In Georgia the enemy held only Savannah.

180. Cornwallis in Virginia. — General Cornwallis, instead of following Greene, turned to the north and toward the end of May entered Virginia. Here he was joined by three thousand troops under the traitor Arnold, who had been sent by Clinton to ravage the state. Cornwallis now commanded an excellent army of 5000 British veterans. Opposing him was a force of about 3000 militia under the leadership of Lafayette, who was assisted in raising and drilling additional forces by Baron von Steuben, a thoroughly trained Prussian officer. Cornwallis



BARON VON STEUBEN

spent the summer in a vain attempt to entrap Lafayette and in August withdrew to the coast at Yorktown, on the peninsula between the York and the James rivers.

181. Cornwallis Surrenders (October 19, 1781). — The position of Cornwallis was safe only so long as the British controlled the sea; but a strong French fleet had appeared in the West Indies, and its commander, Count de Grasse,

had offered his services to Washington for the summer. Accordingly, it was agreed that De Grasse should move north and seize the entrance to Chesapeake Bay and so cut off Cornwallis from any relief by water, while Washington was to gather troops to aid Lafayette in the land attack. Late in August Washington left the Hudson at the head of two thousand of his own men and five thousand well-trained French troops. A French army had been at Newport, Rhode Island, for some time, and its commander, Count Rochambeau, now joined with Washington in the expedition against Cornwallis. On his way south word came to Washington that De Grasse had already arrived with not merely a powerful fleet, but three thousand French and Spanish soldiers whom he had taken on board in the West Indies. Upon hearing the news Washington was unable to control his feelings. His companions were much astonished to see him wave his hat in the air and exhibit other indications of great joy. One of the Frenchmen reported that he had never seen a man so happy as was Washington on this occasion.

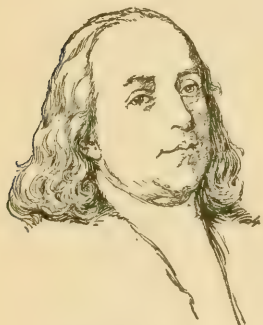


YORKTOWN

When the American and French forces from the North joined the army that had been assembled by Lafayette and De Grasse, the position of Cornwallis speedily became hopeless. Early in September a British fleet had attempted to bring him aid, but had been beaten off by the French. Escape by sea thus became impossible, and now the army under Washington's command outnumbered the British

troops two to one. During the early days of October, siege operations were pushed vigorously under the direction of French military engineers. Cornwallis made an attempt to escape by crossing the York River to the north of his position, but a storm blew his boats downstream; finding his situation entirely hopeless, he raised a white flag in token of surrender October 17. Two days later more than eight thousand British soldiers and seamen laid down their arms.

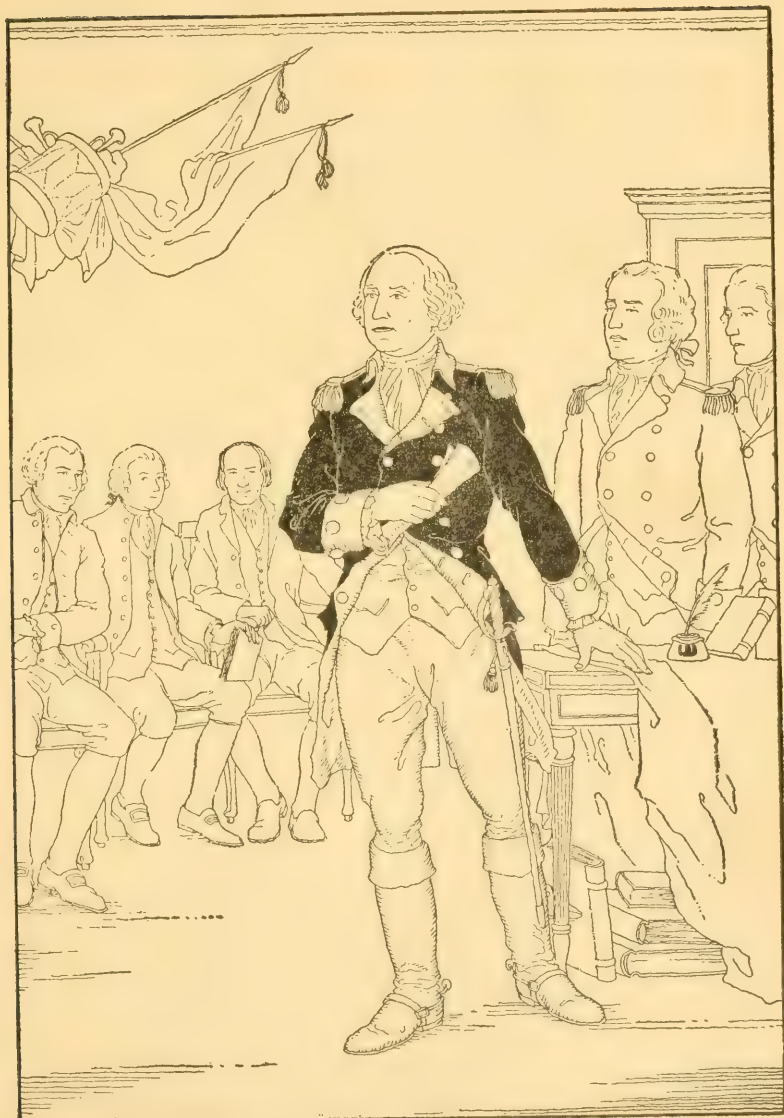
182. The Peace of Paris. — The defeat of Cornwallis made the English government realize that the revolt of the American colonies had succeeded. "It is all over," exclaimed the King's chief minister when he heard the news of Yorktown. The English people no longer cared to support the war and welcomed the negotiations for peace which were begun in Paris during the summer of 1782. Franklin, the American representative in France, was aided in the negotiations by John Jay, who had represented American interests in Spain. John Adams, minister to Holland, arrived in Paris before the business was concluded and was instrumental in securing for Americans the right to fish in Newfoundland waters, a right which was of special value to his New England people. After long discussions and many delays, which took a year's time, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris, September 3, 1783, which not only recognized American independence but gave to the United States the vast territories east of the Mississippi River lying between Florida and the Great



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



NORTH AMERICA ACCORDING TO THE TREATY OF 1783



WASHINGTON RESIGNS HIS COMMAND

Lakes. Florida, which extended westward to the Mississippi, was returned to Spain by Great Britain.

183. Washington Resigns His Command. — Soon after news of the treaty of peace reached America, the British army evacuated New York and Washington's troops entered the city (November 25, 1783). Amid the rejoicings of the people, who welcomed him with bonfires and fireworks, the commander-in-chief prepared for his journey to Annapolis, where Congress was sitting, to lay down his command. He bade an affectionate farewell to his generals who had fought with him. "With heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you," he said to them. "I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable. I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each one of you will come and take me by the hand." When the touching ceremony was at an end, they accompanied him to the ferry, where a barge was waiting to convey him to the New Jersey shore.

Arriving at Annapolis, he was received with all honor by Congress, the officers of the state of Maryland, and other persons of prominence. In an address to Congress he formally laid down his command and took "leave of all of the employments of public life."

He refused any reward for his services, asking only that he be reimbursed for the moneys he had advanced for the public benefit out of his private resources. Followed by the blessings of a grateful people, he withdrew to his home at Mount Vernon.

Vocabulary

alliance ally guerrilla warfare privateers

Map Exercises

1. Locate: Monmouth, N. J., Stony Point, Cherry Valley, N. Y., Detroit, Vincennes, Savannah, Charleston, Camden, King's Mountain, Cowpens, Guilford Courthouse.
2. Show by a diagram the position of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and the way he was finally surrounded by colonial forces.
3. On an outline map of North America show the territory of Spain, England, and the United States, according to the treaty of Paris, 1783.

Questions

1. Why did France sympathize with the colonies? How did she show her sympathy? 2. What was the last important battle of the war in the North? What did it accomplish? 3. Trace the journey of Clark on your map. Why did his success prove of permanent importance? 4. How did the weak colonies attack Great Britain on the sea? Was this method effective? 5. Who is the "Father of the American Navy"? Give a short sketch of his career. 6. Tell of the fight between the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard*. 7. Give two reasons why the English transferred their attacks to the South. 8. Were their hopes realized in the early southern campaigns? 9. What was the first colonial victory in the South? Why did it interfere with Cornwallis' plans? 10. Do you understand why the paper money issued by Congress had so little value? How did it differ from our paper money of to-day? 11. Did Arnold's treachery injure the colonial cause? 12. What points of strategy explain the colonial victory at Cowpens? 13. What was the weakness of Cornwallis' position at Yorktown? How did this prove his undoing? 14. Give the terms and the date of the treaty which closed the war.

CHAPTER XI

THE FORMATION OF THE UNION

184. Adoption of the Articles of Confederation. — When Richard Henry Lee, in June, 1776, asked Congress to make a declaration of independence, he asked also that a “plan of confederation” be prepared so that the states might have a central government to direct their affairs. The committee which was set to work to prepare the plan took a year and a half to complete its task, and it was not until 1781 that all the states agreed to accept the Articles of Confederation, as the plan was called.



RICHARD HENRY LEE

185. Dispute over the Western Lands. — This delay was due chiefly to the attitude of Maryland with regard to the ownership of the lands west of the Alleghenies. Under their colonial charters some of the states laid claim to western lands, but Maryland suggested that as all the states were engaged in winning these lands from Great Britain, all should share in the benefits to be derived from them. It was seen that if these valuable lands could be sold, a large part of the expenses of the war might be paid from this source, and if

this money went to states which had western claims, the other states would be at a great disadvantage. Maryland was afraid also that if Virginia were permitted to retain her vast claims in the Northwest, she might become a menace to her weaker neighbors. Maryland, therefore, suggested that a number of new states be set up in the west as Congress might direct.

The persistence of Maryland finally won the day, and Congress, in October, 1780, asked the states to give the western lands to the central government to be used "for the common good of the United States." Congress gave assurance that these lands would be "formed into separate republican states, which shall become members of the federal union and have the same rights of freedom, sovereignty, and independence as the other states." Early in 1781 it became evident that the states claiming western lands would cede most of them to the central government, and on March 1 of that year Maryland accepted the Articles of Confederation, which became effective at once. The lands in the west soon came into the possession of the United States and thus was founded the public domain in which the people of all the states had an interest. At the same time Congress was pledged to the policy, which has ever since been followed, of setting up new states in the west as soon as conditions permitted.

186. The Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation.—The Articles of Confederation, when finally adopted, gave but little power to the central government. The men who were fighting to throw off the control of Great Britain were not likely to set up another government with equally great powers.

Each state, whether large or small, was to have one vote

in Congress, though each was allowed from two to seven representatives. To act in important matters, the assent of nine states was necessary. Congress was given control of foreign affairs, including the making of war and peace; it was to manage the post office and to regulate weights and measures and the coinage of money.

Though the government under the Articles of Confederation was a step towards a real union of the states, it was very weak in several particulars.

(1) Congress had no power to levy taxes on individuals. It could ask the states to give money for the army or for other purposes, but it had no way of forcing them to pay the money. In 1781 the sum of five million dollars was called for, but less than one tenth of it was paid. After a time Congress could not even pay the interest on the sums it had borrowed. It issued over \$200,000,000 in paper money which became almost worthless. The story is told of a barber who papered the walls of his shop with the Continental currency, as it was called. Had Congress been given power to levy import duties, it could have carried on the war with vigor, thus making unnecessary a large part of the suffering of the soldiers. As the time for disbanding the army approached, the soldiers threatened to mutiny because their pay was so much in arrears. Even some of the officers high in command urged the use of force to secure their wages, and Washington had difficulty in preventing an outbreak.

(2) Congress lacked power to regulate commerce. When England refused, in 1785, to make a commercial treaty with the Confederation, Congress could do nothing. Had the power to levy tariff duties been in the hands of Congress, England could readily have been brought to time by a

threat to discriminate against English goods coming into American ports.

The states used their control of commerce to injure their neighbors. Connecticut placed a higher duty on goods coming from Massachusetts than on the same goods coming from England. New York and Pennsylvania greatly injured the business of the New Jersey farmers by heavy import duties on garden produce. Maryland and Virginia developed a quarrel over the navigation of Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac, as did Georgia and South Carolina concerning the navigation of the Savannah.

(3) Congress could not preserve public order. In 1783 eighty mutinous soldiers appeared in Philadelphia. The members of Congress, fearing for their personal safety, fled from the city and took up quarters in Princeton, New Jersey.

When Shays' Rebellion broke out in Massachusetts a few years later (1786-1787), the weakness of Congress was again revealed. It was a period of "hard times" and money was scarce. Debtors found it difficult to pay their debts and many were imprisoned in accordance with the custom of the times. They asked that paper money be issued to relieve the distress, and they complained that court costs and lawyers' fees were excessive. When their complaints were not heeded, a serious insurrection was organized in western Massachusetts under the leadership of Daniel Shays. There was danger that the national arsenal at Springfield would be attacked and Congress desired to raise troops to protect it; but it acted so timidly and had so much difficulty in raising the necessary money that the rebellion was practically over when the congressional troops, consisting of one hundred forty-six men, arrived at Springfield.

(4) An amendment to the Articles of Confederation required the unanimous consent of the thirteen states. In 1781 Congress asked for power to levy a tariff of five per cent on imports as a means of paying the debt contracted in the war. Twelve states consented, but little Rhode Island refused, and nothing could be done.

187. Dissatisfaction with Articles of Confederation.—Men who were interested in seeing the debts of the Confederation paid, and who wanted commerce regulated and public order maintained, became dissatisfied with the Articles of Confederation and began to talk of a change in the form of government. Some even despaired of the success of popular government and urged that a monarchy be established; Prince Henry of Prussia, according to one account, was to be the first king. Men were thinking very seriously, said a writer of the time, “in what manner to effect the most easy and natural change of the present form of the federal government to one more energetic, that will, at the same time, create respect, and secure properly life, liberty, and property.”

A meeting held at Annapolis brought together a number of men who wished to see a more vigorous central government established. The meeting rose out of the desire of Maryland and Virginia to come to an agreement concerning tariff questions and the improvement of navigation on the Potomac. It was thought that the other states might like to discuss the question of uniform tariff rates, and so a general invitation was extended to them to send representatives to Annapolis, September 1, 1786. Delegates from only five states attended the convention, but a report written by Alexander Hamilton of New York was adopted. His report asked for another convention in Philadelphia in

the following May to consider the revision of the Articles of Confederation.

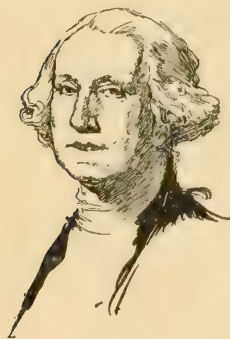
188. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787. — In spite of its general incapacity, the Congress of the Confederation performed one great service before it passed out of existence. The lands north of the Ohio River had come into the possession of the central government, and in 1787 Revolutionary soldiers and civilians were seeking to buy land and establish homes in the "Northwest Territory," as the district between the Ohio and the Great Lakes came to be called. Congress had long been considering a form of government for the Territory, and the opportunity of selling lands in the West and paying some of its debts caused it to hasten the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 which outlined the government under which the settlers in the West would have to live. The Ordinance provided for religious freedom in the Territory, guaranteed the right of trial by jury, and granted other civil rights. Among its most important provisions was the one excluding human slavery from the Territory.

189. Land Grants for Education. — An article of the Ordinance declared that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Congress had already taken steps (1785) to encourage education in the West. In an ordinance of that year it had provided for a land survey whereby the new lands were to be marked off into townships, each six miles square, and to be subdivided into thirty-six smaller squares, which we now call sections. In each township one section was to be given to the public authorities for the support of schools. A few days after the Ordinance of 1787 was passed, a grant of forty-six thousand acres of land in the new territory was given "for the support of

an institution of higher learning." Thus the custom of aiding schools and state universities by grants of land had its origin with the Congress of the Confederation.

190. The Constitutional Convention (1787). — While the Congress of the Confederation in session at New York was preparing the Northwest Ordinance, delegates were arriving in Philadelphia to take part in the convention for which a call had been issued at Annapolis. The convention, which opened its session on May 25, 1787, was attended by representatives from all the states except Rhode Island. There were fifty-five representatives, but the usual number in attendance was about thirty-five.

Many of the leading men of the time were present as delegates. Washington was unanimously chosen President,



GEORGE WASHINGTON

though some would have liked to see the venerable Benjamin Franklin given that honor. James Madison, later to be President of the United States, was one of the delegates. Though one of the youngest men in the convention, he was a leader in its work, earning for himself the title "Father of the Constitution." Besides taking an active part in the debates, he made careful notes of the proceedings, which are now our chief source of information concerning the work of the convention. Among the delegates were Alexander Hamilton of New York, who had served on Washington's staff, and Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, who had worked so nobly to provide funds for the Revolutionary army.

191. Compromises of the Constitution. — The larger states, led by Virginia, proposed that the states should be

represented in Congress according to the number of their inhabitants; the smaller states wanted to continue the old arrangement whereby the states, large and small, had an equal voice in Congress. The debate on this point was long and heated and threatened for a time to break up the convention. Finally it was agreed that the states were to be represented in the lower House of Congress according to the number of inhabitants, but in the upper House they were to have equal representation. Another difficulty arose over the question of regulating commerce. The Northern States, whose foreign trade was very important, wanted the central government to have control of commerce, but the Southern States feared that if Congress were given power to regulate commerce it might stop the importation of slaves and levy export taxes on tobacco and other important products of the South. A compromise was made, and Congress was empowered to regulate commerce, but it could not levy export duties, nor prohibit the importation of slaves before 1808. Differences of opinion arose concerning other matters, but after many weeks of earnest labor the convention concluded its work, and on September 17 the Constitution of the United States, under which we now live, was published.

192. Changes Are Proposed. — The convention had not contented itself merely with revising the Articles of Confederation; it had decided upon a new plan of government.

(a) Congress was to be given the power to raise revenue independently of the states.

(b) The regulation of foreign commerce as well as commerce between the states was to be the work of Congress.

(c) A Supreme Court was provided for, which was to decide cases arising under the Constitution; in addition it

was to decide cases arising between states or citizens of different states.

(*d*) The courts in the various states, in making their decisions, were to be bound by the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

(*e*) A President was to be chosen who would have authority to execute the laws of the new government.

The convention, besides deciding upon these important changes, arranged that the new government should go into operation when nine states accepted it. This was clearly a violation of the Articles of Confederation, which provided for unanimous consent before changes in the form of government could be made.

193. Ratification of the Constitution. — From November 1787 to the following July, the campaign for the adoption of the proposed Constitution went on. Those who favored its adoption called themselves Federalists, and in their number were to be found the commercial classes, officers of the Revolutionary army, and, in general, the men of property and influence. The opponents of the Constitution were known as Anti-federalists, and included many who feared that the setting up of a strong central government would destroy the state governments. Of this number was the great Virginian, Patrick Henry. Others opposed the Constitution because it did not contain a bill of rights to protect trial by jury, freedom of the press, and other liberties of the people. There were others still who, living away from the centers of trade, had not felt the need of a stronger government and were content to leave things as they were.

When New Hampshire ratified the Constitution, June 21, 1788, the consent of nine states had been secured and the Federalists had won. Four days later the important state

of Virginia gave a favorable vote, and on July 26 New York decided to come in under the "new roof" as the Constitution was called. It was over a year later that North Carolina accepted the Constitution, and nearly two years before Rhode Island made up her mind to join her sister states.

Many amendments were proposed in the conventions which ratified the Constitution. Some of these were accepted shortly after the new form of government was established and they now form the first ten amendments to the Constitution.

194. Washington Chosen First President. — When the required number of states had ratified the Constitution, the Congress of the Confederation fixed upon New York as the seat of the new government and the first Wednesday in March, 1787, as the time for the assembling of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The electors, named in accordance with the new Constitution, unanimously chose Washington as President, with John Adams of Massachusetts as Vice-President. Early in April Washington was formally notified of his election and on the 16th of that month set out from Mount Vernon for New York. As he rode north he was greeted everywhere with enthusiasm, and was entertained wherever he stopped. Especially pleasing was the reception that awaited him at Trenton, where a triumphal arch was erected on a bridge over which he had led his army the night before the battle of Princeton. Here he was met by a group of women and girls who strewed flowers in his way and sang in his honor. To celebrate the event a special march was composed. Some years later when the song "Hail, Columbia" was written it was adapted to the music of the march which thus has been preserved to us. When Washington reached New York he was re-



INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON

ceived by the Governor and members of Congress amid the joyous shouts of the people and the thunder of artillery. On April 30, 1789, he took the oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall at the corner of Wall and Broad streets, while the people shouted "Long live George Washington, President of the United States."

Vocabulary

amendment	import	ratification
export	internal revenue	tariff
Federalist	ordinance	

Questions

1. What did Maryland insist on before signing the Articles of Confederation? Give the date of her acceptance. 2. What had been the governing power in the colonies between the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation? 3. What were the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation? How did the Constitution remedy these? 4. Give the purpose and date of the Northwest Ordinance and four important provisions. 5. Do the schools in your state receive revenue from state lands? Who manages these lands? What state in the Union has the wealthiest state lands? 6. How did slavery add to the difficulties of the makers of the Constitution? 7. When and how was our present Constitution ratified? 8. Find by consulting the Constitution of the United States the qualifications for the presidency.

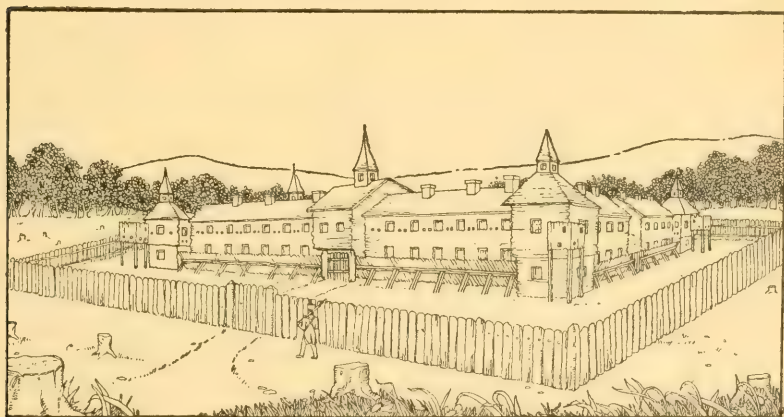
CHAPTER XII

LIFE AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION

195. Population. — According to the first census of the United States, taken in 1790, the population was nearly 4,000,000 persons, of whom about one fifth were negroes. About 4000 immigrants arrived annually from Europe during Washington's administration. Though the volume of immigration was not large, the population of the country increased very rapidly and great numbers pushed on to the western lands in search of homes.

Most Americans in the days of Washington were farmers; only about five per cent of the inhabitants lived in the cities and towns. In the South there was only one large city, Charleston, which had about 15,000 people. Richmond, the largest town in Virginia, had less than 4000 inhabitants. In the North, Philadelphia, with 42,000 people, was the chief city and the center of the grain export trade of the United States. New York ranked next in size with 32,000 people; by 1800 this great port had 60,000 inhabitants; Boston, with 18,000, was the third city of the country; another growing community was Baltimore, which had 13,000 people in 1790 but grew rapidly in the following years on account of the development of the rich Susquehanna Valley.

196. The Growth of the West. — At the time of Washington's inauguration, there were in Tennessee, Kentucky, and the Northwest about 100,000 white inhabitants. Interest in this western country was growing, and by the year 1800 the population had increased to nearly 400,000; Marietta, Cincinnati, Louisville, and other centers were already towns of some importance. In 1795 a treaty with Spain gave the people of the West the right to ship their



MARIETTA, THE OLDEST SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTHWEST

products to the outside world by way of the Mississippi River. This right was of great value to the West and helped the growth of that section.

In the years of Washington's presidency the Indians in the Northwest offered opposition to the advance of white settlement. They were supplied with ammunition by the British, who still held Detroit and other posts in the American territory and who were anxious to retain control of the valuable fur trade of the West. General Anthony Wayne was sent into the Indian country and in 1794, at the

battle of Fallen Timber in northwestern Ohio, subdued the hostile warriors. The Indians made peace the next year and gave up their claims to practically all of Ohio.

During Washington's term of office the growth of the country was shown by the admission of three new states into the Union: Vermont in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, and Tennessee in 1796.

197. Travel. — The two main routes to the West were from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh by wagon road and thence



TRAVEL IN COLONIAL DAYS

by flatboats on the Ohio; from southwestern Virginia to the upper waters of the Tennessee River over Daniel Boone's "Wilderness Road."

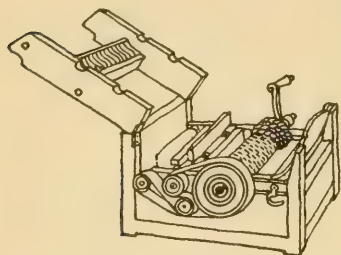
In the early days of the republic travel was slow and difficult. In the more thickly settled parts of the country good roads might be found, but in general the roads were poor and in wet weather were likely to become impassable. Most of the traveling on land was done on horseback and in the uncomfortable stagecoach of the time. The stage journey from Boston to New York occupied six days, a longer time than now suffices to cross the continent. Forty miles

a day in summer and twenty-five in winter was regarded as a highly satisfactory rate of travel. The hotel accommodations outside of the larger towns were not inviting. Frequently the traveler would find that the only bed available was one in a large room occupied by eight or ten other persons. The cooking was of an inferior quality and European travelers, in particular, protested against the daily recurrence of fried bacon and corn bread.

198. Slavery. — N  gro slavery had existed from early times in America, but by the time the Constitution was adopted many Americans had begun to hope that the system might be abolished. Before the end of the Revolutionary War, Virginia and the states farther north prohibited the importation of slaves; and by 1798 the more southerly states made similar prohibitions, which, however, were constantly violated by smugglers. Not only was the importation of slaves prohibited, but a movement was started to abolish slavery itself. This movement gained headway in the North, where slave labor was not very profitable and public opinion was easily aroused against it. By the end of the eighteenth century all the Northern States except Delaware had abolished slavery or taken steps toward its abolition. In the South Jefferson, Washington, and other influential men raised their voices against slavery, but they were not listened to because slave labor was felt to be necessary.

199. The Effect of the Cotton-gin upon Slavery. — The South at this time found a new reason for retaining slavery. In 1793, Eli Whitney, a New England school teacher residing in the South, invented the cotton-gin, a machine for separating the cotton seed from the fiber. One slave could now clean as much cotton in a day as a hundred or more slaves could clean in the same time by the old hand method. The

recent development in England of machinery for spinning and weaving had created an enormous demand for cotton, and the South, with climate and soil well adapted to cotton



COTTON-GIN

culture, was able by means of Whitney's invention to supply the demand. In 1790 our country raised less than two million pounds of cotton, none of which was exported. Ten years later the production of this staple had risen to thirty-five million pounds, and cotton had become our most valuable single article

of export. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land were turned over to cotton raising, and a new field of labor was opened for vast numbers of slaves. Under these conditions the South grew less willing to give up the system of slavery.

A successful cotton factory was set up in Rhode Island in the year of Whitney's great invention, and the spinning and weaving of cotton soon became an important industry.

200. Social Conditions. — Life among the American people was still very simple. A growing merchant class in the towns had sufficient wealth to imitate the luxury of European cities, but in general the homes and dress of the people were extremely plain. Carpets were few; most housewives had to content themselves with clean sand on the floors. Pewter or wooden dishes were used on the table in place of chinaware; table linen was rarely used. Many vegetables, as cauliflower, head lettuce, sweet corn, rhubarb, and tomatoes, were not grown, while oranges and bananas were rare luxuries. The women of the household spun the

yarn and wove the cloth from which the family clothing was made.

201. Education. — Elementary education did not prosper during the Revolutionary period or for many years afterwards. Schoolhouses were poorly furnished and textbooks were few; two months of schooling for boys in winter and a similar period for girls in summer gave about all the education that ordinary children received, and in many parts of the country they did not receive so much. Very few public schools were maintained; private academies, however, were growing in numbers and served to fit boys for college. A score of colleges were founded between the outbreak of the Revolution and 1800, but the range of college studies was narrow and students were few. Two medical colleges had been founded, but the young man of the time who wished to practice medicine secured his training usually in the office of a practicing physician, just as the budding lawyer picked up his knowledge of law in a lawyer's office.

202. Religion. — In New England the Congregational Church was the chief religious organization, as it had been for over a century and a half. The Unitarians, however, were growing in numbers, and the Episcopal Church was making progress among the wealthier classes. In Virginia and the South generally, the Episcopalians were the leading denomination. The Wesleyan, or Methodist Church in America was separated from the English Methodist body in 1784 and made rapid progress in the South and West.

The Catholic Church in America was under the same jurisdiction as the Catholic Church in England until 1784, when Pope Pius VI appointed the Reverend John Carroll of Maryland Prefect Apostolic for the United States. When Father Carroll assumed his duties, he found that there were

twenty-five priests and 25,000 Catholics in the entire country. In 1789 the episcopal see of Baltimore was established and Dr. Carroll was appointed its first bishop. The same year Bishop Carroll erected the first building of Georgetown college and two years later welcomed a number of priests of the order of St. Sulpice, Paris, who opened St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, which is still one of the leading schools of the country for the education of the clergy. The first priest ordained in the United States was the Reverend



REVEREND STEPHEN BADIN

Stephen Badin, a native of France, who was raised to the priesthood in 1793 and who became a successful missionary in the Northwest. Among the early students of the Sulpicians in Baltimore was the Russian Prince Gallitzin, who was ordained to the priesthood in 1795, and who, on account of his missionary zeal in Pennsylvania, became known as "The Apostle of the Alleghenies."

In the early days of the Revolution Bishop Carroll had taken part in the embassy which asked the Canadians to join the colonies in their revolt against the British crown. He was a warm friend of Washington and Franklin and other American leaders. Upon the occasion of Washington's election he signed, on behalf of the clergy, an address to the President. To this Washington made a cordial reply, praising the part which Catholics had taken in the Revolution.

Vocabulary

amendment

episcopal

penal

guarantee

Questions

1. Why did most of the inhabitants of the United States in 1790 live outside the towns? 2. How did the treaty of 1795 with Spain stimulate the growth in the West? 3. What three difficulties had to be overcome by settlers in the Western States? 4. Note how early slavery became an important question. 5. How did the invention of the cotton-gin affect the slavery question in the United States? 6. What everyday comforts of to-day were lacking in 1790?

CHAPTER XIII

THE FEDERALISTS IN POWER

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF WASHINGTON AND ADAMS

203. Organizing the Government. — Congress, which was already in session at the time of Washington's inauguration, made provision for three administrative departments to aid in the work of the government. To manage the business of these departments Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury, and Henry Knox, a popular Massachusetts general, Secretary of War. Edmund Randolph of Virginia was appointed Attorney General, to advise the President in legal matters.

President Washington began the custom of calling together these officers to advise with him on important matters requiring his attention. In this way there was established what is known as the President's Cabinet.

Congress decided that the membership of the Supreme Court should consist of a chief justice and five associate justices. At the same time Circuit and District Courts were provided for, and arrangements were made for appeals from the state courts to the United States Supreme Court. John Jay, of New York, a learned lawyer and a man of wide experience in public affairs, was appointed the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

204. Revenues Are Provided. — One of the most important problems of the first Congress was to provide revenues to take care of the running expenses of the government and pay the large debt left over from the Confederation. Congress took care of the immediate needs of the government by a tax on imports, and then waited for a report from Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, before taking up the payment of the old debts.

205. Hamilton's Financial Plans. — Hamilton found that the United States owed about \$12,000,000 to foreign creditors, and his recommendation that this debt be paid met with a ready acceptance. He found that there remained unpaid about \$44,000,000 due to American creditors, and after some opposition Congress also agreed to pay this debt in full. But when Hamilton recommended that Congress pay the war debts of the various states, in addition to the old Confederation debts, he met with serious opposition. Some of the states had paid a large part of their war debts and they thought it unfair that those states which had been slow in paying should be rewarded from the public treasury. Besides, Madison, who had become one of the leading members of the House of Representatives, argued that nowhere in the Constitution was power given to Congress to assume state debts. Many members, especially those from the South, accepted Madison's argument, and it seemed that the assumption of the state debts was defeated. But Hamilton, knowing that the Southerners wanted the capital of the United States located on the Potomac, secured an agreement by which the assumption of the state debts was carried in return for the location of the permanent capital in the South. Assumption of the state debts cost the Federal Government about \$18,000,000.

206. The First United States Bank. — Hamilton recommended the establishment of a great National Bank with branches in the chief cities. This, he said, would provide a safe place for the deposit of public funds and aid the government in issuing a sound paper currency, in collecting taxes, and in borrowing money. Many opposed the bank because they were afraid it would interfere with the business of the banks already in operation; others objected to it on the ground that the Constitution did not give Congress power to establish a bank. Finally Hamilton's plan was accepted, and the first United States Bank, with a charter for twenty years, began business in 1791.

To meet the payment on the national debt, Congress accepted Hamilton's recommendation that the duties on imports be increased slightly and that a heavy internal tax be laid on distilled spirits. As a result of Hamilton's financial plans, people came to have confidence in the new government.

207. Rise of Political Parties. — Hamilton and the men who favored his financial measures believed in a strong central government; in fact some of Hamilton's opponents charged him with trying to destroy the state legislatures and give Congress control of local as well as national affairs. Some even said that Hamilton's policy would lead to kingly government. Out of this difference of views there arose two political parties, one led by Hamilton, the other by Jefferson. The followers of Hamilton called themselves "Federalists," the old name of the friends of the Constitution; Jefferson called the members of his party "Republicans" as a sign of protest against what he regarded as the monarchical ideas of Hamilton. Later the Republicans became known as Democrats. (Sec. 259.)

The Federalists favored a liberal or "loose" construction of the Constitution; they wanted the central government to be made strong and to assume many powers which were not named in the Constitution, but were "implied," they said, in that document.

The Republicans, on the other hand, favored a "strict" construction of the Constitution. They wanted the states to retain great power and feared the growth of a strong national government. Congress, they said, should have only those powers which were expressly enumerated in the Constitution.

The contest between "loose construction" and "strict construction," between "implied powers" and "enumerated powers," between "Federal supremacy" and "State Rights" continued for many years in our history.

208. The Whisky Rebellion. — Hamilton's tax on distilled spirits (Sec. 206) met with serious opposition in the West, where in nearly every household the making of whisky was an important industry. The farmers of western Pennsylvania found it very expensive to carry their wheat to market over the mountain roads, so they made whisky out of it and took that product to market, at much less expense in proportion to its value. They resented this tax and refused to pay it, driving out some of the United States officers and indulging in serious riots. Hamilton was anxious to show the power of the new government and induced Washington to send 15,000 militia to put down the "rebellion." Order was quickly restored and the country learned that a real government, capable of enforcing its laws, had been established.

209. Washington Remains Neutral in the French War. — Washington, who was unanimously reelected President,

had just begun his second term when news came that France was at war. The revolutionary government in that country, having set up a republic, and beheaded the king (January, 1793), soon found itself at war with several European countries, including England. This war was of great importance to the United States, for our treaty of alliance with France was still in force, and the new government of that country sent its minister, Genêt, to America to secure aid. But Washington and his advisers wanted to keep the country out of the European war, so on April 22, 1793, the President issued a proclamation declaring that the United States was at peace with both France and England, and warning all citizens to avoid aiding either side in the conflict.

210. Our Trouble with England. — The war in Europe brought us into difficulties with England as well as with France, and besides, there were some old difficulties with England that had not been settled.

(a) England still held several posts in American territory in the Northwest, which she refused to give up until certain debts due to her merchants and to the Loyalists from Revolutionary times were paid. There was also a dispute about the northeast boundary between Maine and Canada.

(b) By separating from England, America had lost the right to trade with the English colonies in the West Indies, and, although a good deal of illegal trading was done with these colonies, she was anxious to secure the legal right to trade there.

(c) England's control of the sea enabled her to deal in a high-handed manner with the shipping of other nations. She seized cargoes of food carried in American ships bound for France or French colonies. The United States protested that food was not "contraband" and so not subject to seizure.

(d) England was badly in need of sailors, and her captains made a practice of impressing into British service English sailors who might be found on American ships. But they did not stop at that; they took men who had been naturalized as American citizens. "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman," they said. Worst of all, they took away sailors who were American citizens by right of birth.

211. The Trouble Is Partially Settled (1794). — These matters irritated American public opinion, and many persons in this country, especially the friends of France, were ready for war with England. But Washington greatly desired peace, and sent John Jay to London to settle the difficulties, if possible, by a treaty. The treaty fell far short of American demands, and it was with great difficulty that Washington succeeded in getting it ratified by the Senate. A great outcry was raised against Jay, who was burned in effigy in many cities. Hamilton was stoned in New York when he attempted to make an open-air address in favor of the treaty. Even Washington was abused in speeches and in the press. But after a time the country came to the conclusion that, unsatisfactory as it was, the treaty was better than war. By the terms of this treaty Northwest posts were to be evacuated by 1796; American shipowners were to be compensated for the seizure of their vessels and cargoes; a commission was to be appointed to settle the disputed boundary between Maine and Canada. On its part, the United States promised to see that the Loyalist debts were paid. Nothing was said about the impressment of American seamen; that was left to become a much greater cause of irritation in the future.

212. Adams Is Elected President (1796). — Washington declined to be a candidate for the presidency for a third

term; he was anxious to retire to private life because he wished to escape the cares of the office and the abuse to



JOHN ADAMS

which he had been subjected by political opponents. The Federalists nominated John Adams as their candidate, and he was chosen by a bare majority of the electoral vote. Thomas Jefferson, the Republican candidate, received the next highest vote and thus became Vice-President, according to the constitutional provision which then governed presidential elections.

213. Washington's Retirement and "Farewell Address."—As Washington's

second term drew to a close he prepared for publication a farewell address to the American people, a noble paper in which he exhorted his fellow citizens to be loyal to the Union and to strive to live at peace with one another. One of its most striking passages is the one in which he warned the American people against entering into entangling alliances with European countries. He relinquished the cares of office with a feeling of relief and retired to his estate at Mount Vernon to take up the duties of a Virginia farmer.

214. Trouble with France.—One of the first matters that President Adams had to deal with was our relations with France. The French government did not take kindly to Jay's treaty; they wanted not peace but war between the United States and Great Britain, and they felt that we were not living up to the spirit of the alliance of 1778. They showed their displeasure by seizing our ships and cargoes as the English had done. In the closing months of Washing-

ton's administration, they refused to receive the American minister. When Adams sent Charles Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry to treat with them, the French not only demanded a bribe of a quarter million dollars before the business could be taken up, but they also treated the American envoys with contempt.

The President made known the fact that his mission to France had failed, and urged preparations for national defense. "Millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute," a phrase used by Pinckney, became the watchword of the American people. The friends



JOHN MARSHALL.

of France were silenced and preparations were made for war. The army was reorganized and Washington was placed in command. Vessels of war were built and outfitted and a Navy Department was created with Benjamin Stoddert of Maryland as first Secretary of the Navy. Though war was not formally declared, a number of sea fights took place in 1799 and the early months of the next year. Hamilton and other Federalist leaders wanted to drive the country into war, but President Adams stood firm for peace, and against the will of his Cabinet sent commissioners to France.

After threatening war for two years, France found it had nothing to gain by fighting America; in 1800 Napoleon Bonaparte, who had come into power, willingly made peace. The French discontinued their attacks on American commerce and the treaty of alliance between France and the

United States was formally set aside. In after years Adams regarded the maintenance of peace as the most important act of his life and proposed as his own epitaph "Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility for the peace with France, 1800."

215. The Alien and Sedition Laws. — During the early days of our national history, newspaper discussion of public men and affairs was conducted on a low plane. Unmeasured vilification of the editor's political opponents was looked for by the readers of each partisan journal. Adams and his administration received a large share of abuse at the hands of Republican editors, many of whom were foreigners, either Frenchmen or friends of France. The Federalists decided to put an end to the abuse of the administration by enacting four laws in the summer of 1798.

- (a) The time of residence necessary for naturalization was made fourteen years instead of five. This law was repealed in 1802 and the five-year period restored.
- (b) The second law gave the President power to order out of the country without trial, in time of peace, any alien whose presence he regarded as dangerous to the country. If the order were disobeyed, the President might imprison the disobedient alien for three years. (President Adams made no use of the power conferred on him by this act, but many Frenchmen, fearing action on his part, left the country.)
- (c) The third act gave the President power to imprison alien enemies in time of war, or to banish them from the country. This was not an unreasonable arrangement and is still in force.

- (d) The fourth, or Sedition Law, made it an offense to be punished by fine and imprisonment for citizens to "combine" against the legal measures of the government or to make any "false, scandalous, or malicious writing against the government" or its high officials.

A number of prominent persons were convicted under the Sedition Act; some for very trivial reasons according to present-day notions. The Republicans thought that such offenses could be dealt with by state laws, and they denounced the act as an invasion of the right of free speech. The Alien and Sedition Laws proved very unpopular and had much to do with the defeat of the Federalists at the next presidential election.

216. Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798). — The legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky passed resolutions declaring that the states had a right to interfere when Congress passed laws that were clearly unconstitutional, as was the case, they said, with the Alien and Sedition Acts. The other states were asked to join in a demand for the repeal of the obnoxious laws, but they refused, and nothing came of the protest at the time. In the following year, Kentucky passed a second set of resolutions in which the right of the states to undo the unconstitutional acts of Congress was reasserted, and the term "nullification" was used to describe this right of the states.

Kentucky and Virginia contented themselves with a declaration of their right to "nullify," or set aside, acts of Congress. Later, as we shall see, other states not only asserted the right of nullification, but attempted to practice nullification. (Sec. 267.)

217. Death of Washington. — While the political bickerings of Federalists and Republicans were at their height, news came of the death of Washington at Mount Vernon on December 14, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

During the two and one half years since his retirement from the presidency, his political opponents had time to forget their animosities, and the whole country united to mourn the loss of its great leader in war and peace.

218. The Fall of the Federalists. — The Federalist Party, to which Adams belonged, had grown unpopular, especially on account of the Sedition Act, and when the election of 1800 came around, Adams failed of reëlection. Although the Federalists were defeated in the congressional elections, they provided a large number of new offices for themselves and their friends during the few months when they controlled the government after the elections. Places were made for twenty-four new United States judges besides United States marshals and other officers, and Adams proceeded to fill these places with men from his own party. It was said later that the Federalists had made the judiciary “a hospital for decayed politicians.” It is said that Adams spent his time up to midnight on the last night of his presidency signing judicial appointments. The men whom he named became known as “the midnight judges.”

219. Election of Jefferson. — In the election of 1800 the successful Republican candidates for president and vice-president, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, received an equal number of votes in the electoral college. The choice between these two had to be made by the House of Representatives, and the Federalists, who were still in control of that House, thought for a time of making Burr President, though Jefferson was the people's choice for that office. The

difficulty over this election led to the twelfth amendment to the Constitution, which provided that electors use separate ballots in voting for president and vice-president.

Vocabulary

alien	contraband	illegal	obnoxious
assumption	currency	impressment	partisan
bickerings	distilled	malicious	revenue
compromise	effigy	naturalized	vilification
constitutionality	epitaph	nullification	

Questions

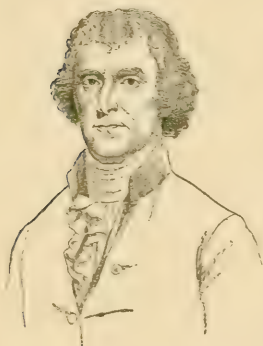
1. How many members are there to-day in the President's Cabinet?
2. How many judges are there to-day in the Supreme Court? Are there any from your state?
3. Was Hamilton's financial policy a good one? Why?
4. What compromise ended the controversy over the national debt?
5. Name the political parties of the time and state two points of difference between them.
6. How did the United States government show its power in the Whisky Rebellion?
7. What was Washington's policy toward the warring countries in Europe?
8. How was trouble with England avoided at this time?
9. Was it a final solution of the difficulty?
10. What was the source of our warlike attitude toward France?
11. How was this trouble avoided?
12. Why did the Alien and Sedition Laws help to defeat the Federalists in 1800?
13. Do you admire the way in which the Federalists accepted defeat?
14. What was the purpose of the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution?

CHAPTER XIV

THE JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF JEFFERSON AND MADISON

220. Jefferson Becomes President. — Few of Washington's successors have exercised so great an influence over the country as Thomas Jefferson, who occupied the presidential office from 1801 to 1809. The people had great faith in him as the friend of democratic government, and Congress, during his two terms in the presidency, readily accepted his leadership. Even after he retired from office his advice was often sought on important questions.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Jefferson was well known throughout the country, even before his election to the presidency. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence and had been governor of Virginia during the trying times of the Revolutionary War. Later he spent five years in France as American minister, returning home to take a place in Washington's Cabinet as Secretary of State. He was a man of simple tastes, and his inauguration was marked by a simplicity lacking in those of his predecessors. With a few of his friends he

walked from his boarding house to the Capitol and took the oath of office as President of the United States. Jefferson's inauguration was the first to take place in the new city of Washington, to which the government had been transferred in 1800.

221. Jefferson's Plans. — The new President did not want the central government to extend its powers; he thought it should confine its attention chiefly to the regulation of commerce and foreign relations and leave other matters to the states. Such a government would require few officials and little money for its maintenance. Jefferson was a man of peace, and he hoped that America would remain free from the conflicts of Europe. He wished to spend as little money as possible on the army and navy, not only because he hated war, but because he was anxious to pay off the national debt.

222. War with Tripoli. — But Jefferson soon found that he could not entirely dispense with a navy. The rulers of Tripoli, Algiers, and the other Mohammedan countries of North Africa had long been levying tribute on the commerce of Christian nations, and we, in common with Europeans, paid them large sums of money. In 1801 Tripoli became dissatisfied with the amount it was getting from America and declared war on us. Warships were sent to the Mediterranean each summer for several years, but it was not until 1805 that Tripoli agreed to give up her demands for tribute. The presence of American war vessels in the Mediterranean had a salutary influence on other North African states and restrained them from interfering with American commerce. Though not of great importance, the war proved very costly and required a considerable increase in import duties, much to Jefferson's regret. A beneficial

result of the war was that the officers and men of the navy received an excellent training which was of value to them in the war with England a few years later.

223. The Purchase of Louisiana (1803). — Early in Jefferson's term it became known that Napoleon, who was then ruler of France, had secured Louisiana from Spain and was preparing to take possession of his new lands. This was alarming news for Americans who were interested in keeping the Mississippi open to western commerce. "Every eye in the United States," said Jefferson, "is now fixed on this affair of Louisiana." After much difficult bargaining, Spain, in 1795, had granted to the Westerners the right of unloading their river cargoes at New Orleans and reloading on ocean-going vessels. This right had become very valuable, and the people of the West were willing to fight to maintain it. Though Jefferson was a peace-loving man, he, too, would fight for an open river, and disliked having New Orleans fall into the strong hands of Napoleon.

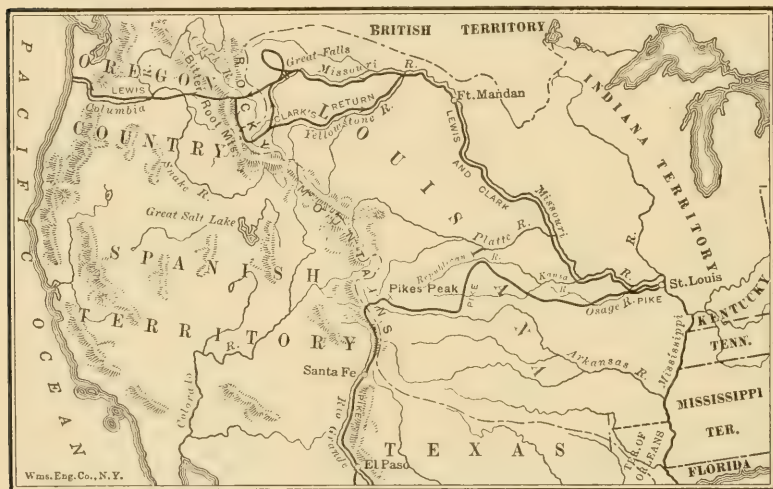
Jefferson decided to settle the question, if possible, by peaceful means, and directed Livingston, the American minister at Paris, to ascertain on what terms Napoleon would cede the island of New Orleans to the United States. To Livingston's great surprise, Napoleon, who was beginning a great war in Europe for which he needed money, was willing to sell not only New Orleans, but the whole of Louisiana. A treaty was signed at Paris, May 2, 1803, which secured for Americans the peaceful navigation of the Mississippi and nearly doubled the territory of the United States, at a cost of only \$15,000,000.

224. Exploration of the Louisiana Territory. — Jefferson had long been interested in the great country west of



TRANSFER OF LOUISIANA

the Mississippi, and soon after he became President he secured from Congress an appropriation for an expedition among the Indian tribes of the Missouri River. He chose as the leaders of this expedition his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark, a brother of George Rogers Clark. Before the expedition could set out, the Louisiana



REGIONS EXPLORED BY LEWIS AND CLARK AND BY ZEBULON PIKE

Purchase had been made and the territory which it was to traverse had fallen into American hands.

Lewis and Clark, with about forty men, left St. Louis in May, 1804, and proceeded up the Missouri. They passed the winter among the Mandan Indians, near the present site of Bismarck, North Dakota, and in the following summer, guided by an Indian woman, Sacajawea, pushed westward across the Rocky Mountains and descended the Columbia River to its mouth. This mighty stream had

been discovered by Captain Robert Gray of Boston, who entered it in 1792 in his ship *Columbia*, from which the river got its name. Captain Gray's discovery and the explorations of Lewis and Clark laid the foundation for the American claim to the Oregon country. After spending the winter of 1805-1806 on the Oregon coast, the explorers returned to the United States, reaching St. Louis in September.

While Lewis and Clark were in the far West, another explorer, Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, had in 1805 explored the Mississippi from St. Louis nearly to its source. The next year he explored the upper waters of the Arkansas and discovered the mountain now known as Pike's Peak.

225. Invention of the Steamboat. — The successful application of steam power to water transportation at this time aided greatly in the development of the West in later years.

A number of men experimented with steam-propelled boats towards the end of the eighteenth century and several of them succeeded in getting their craft to go by steam power. One of the earliest among them was John Fitch, who in the summer of 1790 made a number of trips on the Delaware with his steamboat. His venture, as well as that of other early inventors in



ROBERT FULTON

the same field, proved unprofitable, and it was not until 1807 that the steamboat became a commercial success. In August of that year Robert Fulton, a Pennsylvanian of

Irish descent, in his boat, the *Clermont*, sailed from New York to Albany, a distance of one hundred fifty miles, in thirty-two hours. From this time steady improvement was made in steam navigation, and in 1811 a steamboat was seen on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, an event of great importance to the growing West. After the War of 1812 steamers were regularly in service on the Great Lakes, and in 1819 the *Savannah*, propelled partly by steam-power and partly by sails, crossed the Atlantic to England.

226. The Westward Movement. — In the year 1800 a land law was passed which permitted settlers to buy western lands in 160-acre lots at two dollars an acre, one fourth of the amount to be paid when making the purchase and the remainder within four years. Under this arrangement Ohio, which was admitted as a state in 1803, and other western communities received large numbers of new settlers. From 1800 to 1810 the population of Ohio rose from 45,000 to 406,000, while nearly 40,000 persons settled in the southern districts of Indiana and Illinois. During the same period Kentucky and Tennessee doubled their population. The chief products of the western country were wheat, corn, hogs, and cattle. Great quantities of flour, bacon, and beef were sent down the Ohio and Mississippi; in the one year 1811 some twelve hundred flatboats loaded with these products left the Ohio. At the same time thousands of head of cattle and hogs were driven overland to the eastern markets.

The growth of the West showed the need of roads and canals, and during Jefferson's presidency a demand arose for national aid for these "internal improvements." The President and his Secretary of the Treasury, Gallatin, prepared a plan for a great system of canals and roads; but

at this point the growing interference of France and England with American commerce led to an embargo (Sec. 229). The nation's revenues were greatly reduced and national aid for internal improvements had to be given up for some years.

227. Interference with American Commerce. — As we have already seen, one of the reasons that led Napoleon to sell Louisiana was the great war which he began in 1803 against England and other countries. The French fleet was not equal to that of the British, so France's foreign commerce was greatly hindered by the war. American shippers now secured much of the former French trade and for a few years the war made American commerce extremely profitable, our exports having doubled from 1803 to 1805. But this prosperity did not last. In October, 1805, the French navy met a crushing defeat near Cape Trafalgar at the hands of the British, while a few weeks later Napoleon himself gained a decisive victory over the combined armies of Austria and Russia at the battle of Austerlitz. England was now master of the sea and Napoleon was master of the European continent, but as neither could strike a vital blow at the other, each tried all the harder to injure the other's commerce. As a result neutral trade suffered greatly. American ships sailing for British ports were liable to be seized by the French, and if they sailed for the ports of France or her allies, they were liable to seizure by the British. Both France and England, in interfering with neutral trade, went far beyond the limits of international law; both robbed our commerce and arrogantly refused to give us any satisfaction.

228. Increasing Trouble with England. — The British navy stationed ships outside New York harbor and other

harbors on the Atlantic coast to examine American vessels as they left port. It was easier to control American commerce by watching a few American ports than by maintaining an effective blockade of the many European ports. Besides interfering with the American trade, the British seized many seamen from American vessels. The high wages paid on American ships had led to the desertion of many English seamen, about 2500 a year at this time. To impress all English sailors possible the British redoubled their efforts in searching American vessels.

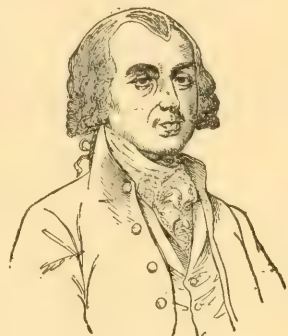
The zeal of the British in this field reached a climax in June, 1807, when the British warship *Leopard* fired on the American frigate *Chesapeake*, killed or wounded twenty-one men, and carried off others. The insult to the American flag raised the war fever in the country to a dangerous height.

229. The Embargo Act (1807). — Jefferson, the friend of peace, was not the man to use force to secure respect for American rights. Besides, he thought he could settle the matter by refusing to let England and France have American food products and other supplies, such as cotton. Congress agreed with him and in December, 1807, passed the Embargo Act, forbidding American vessels to sail for foreign ports. But the act failed of its purpose. The working people in England, it is true, suffered greatly because they could not buy American foodstuffs, but they had no voice in the government of their country and their complaints were not heeded. The embargo injured many persons at home. Sailors were thrown out of work; shipowners were left with idle ships rotting at the docks; and farmers found themselves unable to sell their grain. Their protests became so strong that in March, 1809, just at the end of Jefferson's

second term, the Embargo Act was repealed and in its place was substituted a Non-Intercourse Act which prohibited commerce with Great Britain and France until they ceased their illegal interference with American ships. American shippers were now left free to pick up what trade they could with other nations.

230. Madison Succeeds Jefferson. — As his second term drew to a close, Jefferson refused to be a candidate for a third term. He decided to follow the precedent set by Washington by retiring at the end of eight years and expressed the hope that in the future no President would serve more than two terms.

In the election of 1808 the Republicans were again successful; their candidate was Jefferson's Secretary of State, James Madison of Virginia, one of the chief authors of the Constitution. He, like Jefferson, was a man of peace, but before the end of his first term a young and aggressive group in his party forced him into war with Great Britain.



JAMES MADISON

THE WAR OF 1812

231. Anti-British Feeling Grows. — In the early days of his presidency Madison thought he had secured a settlement of the dispute with Great Britain. Erskine, the new British minister at Washington, met all the President's demands; and in April, 1809, Madison issued a proclamation renewing commercial intercourse with Great Britain. Hundreds of American ships, laden with goods for the

English markets, at once put to sea; but soon word came that the British government had repudiated Erskine's agreement and the minister was recalled. Heavy losses were sustained by the shippers, whose vessels were refused entry to British ports. The incident stirred up much anti-British feeling in America.

The Non-Intercourse Act expired in 1810 and American commerce was free to seek the markets of Great Britain and France, but at the risk of capture by one or another of those powers. At the same time an act known as Macon's Bill No. 2 was passed. This act provided that if either of the offending nations should cease its hostility to American commerce, the President might renew the non-intercourse policy against the nation which continued hostile. Napoleon, when he heard of the Macon Bill, promised that on November 1, 1810, his decrees against neutral commerce would be revoked. Though the Emperor's promise was not seriously meant, Madison issued a proclamation suspending commercial intercourse with Great Britain after February 2, 1811. He had hoped to force the British to follow Napoleon's example, but they paid no attention to the growing warlike spirit in America and refused to give way.

232. The British Stir Up the Indians in the Northwest. — Another source of irritation was found in the Northwest, where it was charged that the British were furnishing the Indians with guns and ammunition and inciting them to deeds of violence. This charge may have been true, but at the same time it must be admitted that the Indians had good reason to regard the Americans as their enemies. The western settlers regretted the treaty made by General Wayne with the Indians in 1795 (Sec. 196), which left the

natives in possession of very valuable lands in Indiana Territory. Under the leadership of William Henry Harrison, governor of the territory, the Americans were pushing the Indians back by rather high-handed methods. To oppose the American advance, two Shawnee Indians, Tecumseh and his brother, who is known as "the Prophet," undertook to form an Indian confederacy. A fight took place November 7, 1811, at Tippecanoe Creek, in which the Indians were defeated by Harrison, who became the hero of the West. English arms which were found in a neighboring Indian village were accepted as evidence of British support of the Indian cause, and western suspicion of British intentions increased.

233. War Is Declared. — The new Congress, which convened towards the end of 1811, contained a large number of new members, young men who were dissatisfied with the peaceful attitude of Madison and who chose as Speaker of the House Henry Clay of Kentucky, who was known to be in favor of war.

Madison finally gave way before the demands of the "war hawks," and on June 1, 1812, sent a message to Congress, pointing out the grievances of the United States and recommending war. Among the acts of Great Britain of which he complained were these:

- (a) The impressment of American seamen.
- (b) The stationing of British cruisers in American waters where they interfered with "entering and departing commerce."
- (c) The unlawful capture of American vessels on the high seas. (This was the chief cause of complaint; had it been absent, the other matters would have been overlooked.)

- (d) The incitement of Indian hostilities on the north-western frontier.

Congress agreed with the President that the time had come to fight, and on June 18 a state of war was declared to exist between the United States and Great Britain. Before news of the declaration of war reached England, the British ministry announced that it would discontinue the unlawful capture of American vessels, which was the chief object of American complaint. But the news of the British change of heart was some weeks in reaching America, and it was then too late to stop the war. Had an Atlantic cable been in operation, the conflict might have been avoided.

234. The Country Neither Prepared nor United. — When the war broke out, the country was poorly equipped for fighting; the army of the United States consisted of fewer than 10,000 men, and of these only 6000 were trained soldiers. The higher officers of the army at the outset of the war were chiefly old men unfit for active duty. On the sea we were as poorly equipped as on land, especially when it is remembered that we were entering upon a contest with the greatest sea power the world had ever known. Our navy was made up of twelve vessels capable of sailing on the high seas and about two hundred gunboats, which could be used for coast defense only.

Not only was the country unprepared for war, but it was also sharply divided as to the wisdom of the war. The Federalists in Congress, for the most part, voted against the war, and the New England states where the Federalists were strong gave little aid in carrying it on. In fact, before the conflict was over, there came from New England a threat of secession from the Federal Union.

235. The Advance on Canada Fails.—An attack on Canada offered the most obvious means of striking at British power, and plans were made for several invading expeditions.

(a) General Henry Dearborn was to lead an advance by the Lake Champlain route to Montreal, but he failed even to cross the Canadian frontier.

(b) An expedition under General Stephen Van Rensselaer crossed the Niagara River, but the leader proved incompetent and met with a decisive defeat at Queenstown, a short distance from Niagara Falls.

(c) Farther to the west, General William Hull entered Canada by way of Detroit and besieged the British post



THE CANADIAN FRONTIER

at Malden. He soon lost courage, retreated to Detroit, and on August 15 surrendered that post and his army without firing a shot. This disaster gave the British control of Michigan Territory. On the same day, Fort Dearborn, on the site of Chicago, fell into the hands of the Indians, who massacred the garrison.

236. Naval Victories. — While the attempts of the land forces to invade Canada ended in humiliating failure, the navy covered itself with glory by a number of remarkable victories. The American frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, a nephew of General Hull, fell in with the British frigate *Guerrière* on August 19, about six hundred miles east of Boston. In less than thirty minutes the enemy "was left without a spar standing," according to the report of Captain Hull, whose own vessel was only slightly damaged. On October 19 the American sloop *Wasp* defeated the British brig *Frolic* after forty-three minutes of fighting. A few days later the frigate *United States* captured the frigate *Macedonia*, and in December the *Constitution* earned new fame by the destruction of the *Java* in South American waters. These striking victories did very little damage to England's sea-power (in fact, before the war was over our navy was driven from the sea), but they gave England a wholesome respect for American fighting ability. As the English statesman Canning afterwards expressed it: "The sacred spell of the invincibility of the British navy was broken."

237. The Battle of Lake Erie. — It was left for the navy also to undo the disastrous results of General Hull's cowardice and to prevent a successful invasion of the United States from the north. The British had a small fleet of war vessels on Lake Erie and their control of that body of water permitted them to bring supplies and men to Detroit and other western posts which were in their hands. If the Americans wanted to regain Detroit and begin a second invasion of Canada from the west, they had first to destroy the British fleet on Lake Erie. But at the beginning of 1813 there was not an American vessel of war on the lake,

and a young naval officer, Oliver Hazard Perry, was sent West to build and buy a fleet which could cope with the enemy. He bought several vessels, but the greater part of his little fleet was built from timber which his men cut in the forest. With immense labor he had the equipment for his ships brought overland from Philadelphia, and before summer was over was ready to fight.

The British offered battle off Sandusky on September 10, 1813; the combatants were about equally matched and the fight was bitterly contested.

In the course of the action Perry's flagship was sunk, and through a hail of bullets the commander made his way in a rowboat to another ship. What seemed a defeat was soon turned into a complete victory, which Perry announced in his famous dispatch to General Harrison: "We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."



OLIVER HAZARD PERRY

The loss of control of Lake Erie compelled the British to abandon Detroit, which they burned. General Harrison, who was now in command in the West, followed the retreating British and defeated them decisively on the river Thames in Ontario. Among the slain was the Indian leader Tecumseh, who had joined the British at the beginning of the war. The victory at the Thames put an end to British control of the Northwest.

238. The Creek War. — The Creek Indians, living in what is now Alabama, had been roused against the whites

by Tecumseh early in the war, and after various warlike exploits captured Fort Mims and massacred its inhabitants August 30, 1813. The Southwest was stirred to action and in the following spring the Creeks were crushed at Horseshoe Bend by the Tennessee militia under command of General Andrew Jackson. The Indians were compelled to cede a vast territory in Georgia and Alabama, which was thus thrown open to settlement. In this war Andrew Jackson gained his reputation as a soldier.

239. The British Plans for 1814. — The war that England was waging in America was a small affair in comparison with her mighty struggle against Napoleon; but in October, 1813, the great battle of Leipzig shattered Napoleon's power and the next spring he was sent into exile. England was now free to give more attention to America, and her military leaders decided to send three veteran armies across the Atlantic. The first, of eleven thousand men, was sent to Canada to invade New York by the old Lake Champlain route; the second, of four thousand men, was to take Washington and Baltimore, and the third, of ten thousand men, was to seize the mouth of the Mississippi.

The Americans had done little to meet this powerful attack. The administration of both army and navy proved incompetent, the treasury was nearly empty, and the East was furnishing very few volunteers for the army. The New England states put many obstacles in the way of raising troops and their citizens engaged in a treasonable trade with the enemy, furnishing the British army in Canada with food. "Two thirds of the army in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by American contractors," wrote a British general in the midst of the war. Men in Massachusetts were so opposed to the war that

they talked of a separate peace between their state and Great Britain.

240. British Failure on Lake Champlain. — It was part of the British plan, as we have seen, to invade New York by way of Lake Champlain, as Burgoyne had done in the Revolutionary War. The success of the expedition seemed assured, for the Americans had only two thousand men to oppose the eleven thousand veterans of the invading army. In order to provide his troops regularly with supplies, the British commander had to control Lake Champlain, so he took with him from Canada a fleet which he thought sufficient for the purpose. Captain Thomas MacDonough, who commanded the small American fleet on Lake Champlain, offered battle at Plattsburg, September 11, 1814, and handled his guns with such skill that the enemy was totally defeated. The British land forces retreated into Canada, and New York was saved from invasion.

241. The Capture of Washington. — The British army which was to operate against Washington and Baltimore arrived in Chesapeake Bay in August and made a landing about forty miles from the national capital. Easily defeating the raw militia who attempted to bar their way, the British troops under General Ross entered Washington August 24, 1814. The officers of the government and many of the residents had fled; Mrs. Madison, the wife of the President, had scarcely time to save the silver and other valuable household articles.

In the preceding year American soldiers, acting without orders, had burned the Parliament building at York, now Toronto, Ontario. In retaliation for this, General Ross burned the Capitol, the President's house, and other buildings, destroying many valuable records. In the one case the

burning was the act of irresponsible private soldiers; in the other it was the act of the commanding general, who seemed very proud of the destruction he had wrought.

When his work was done at Washington, Ross rejoined the British fleet and undertook the capture of Baltimore; but the guns of Fort McHenry, which defended the city,

beat off the fleet, and a land attack, in which Ross was killed, failed. A few weeks later the British forces left the Chesapeake to take part in the attack on Louisiana.

It was during the bombardment of Fort McHenry that Francis Scott Key conceived the idea of writing *The Star-Spangled Banner*. He had gone aboard a British ship the day before the battle to secure the release of an American prisoner and was detained during the bombardment, which lasted the entire night. His joy at seeing

the flag of Fort McHenry still flying in the morning inspired him to write the poem which has immortalized his name.

242. The Battle of New Orleans. — The British forces which were to attack Louisiana landed eight miles below New Orleans late in December, 1814. The defense of the city had been placed in the hands of General Andrew Jackson, who earlier in the year had shown himself a capable



leader against the Creek Indians. He had under his command about five thousand men, westerners, unused to military ways but excellent rifle-shots. With great energy Jackson set to work to construct defenses and was well prepared to meet the British attack, which was delivered January 8, 1815.

The British leader, General Pakenham, who had but few more men than Jackson, sought to carry the American position by a frontal attack. He had a great contempt for the militia and expected them to break and run at the first onset of British regulars. But the western riflemen kept their heads and poured an effective fire into the advancing columns of redcoats. Pakenham and two other major generals were killed and his forces were so badly crippled that they withdrew from the field.

The British lost nearly two thousand men, killed and wounded, while Jackson's loss was seventy-one.

The victory at New Orleans not only saved the Lower Mississippi from foreign control but also added greatly to the importance of the West and made Jackson one of the leading men of the country.

243. The Peace of Ghent (1814). — The report of Jackson's great victory had scarcely reached the government at Washington when news arrived from Europe that a treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent on Christmas



Even, two weeks before the battle of New Orleans. Nothing was said in the treaty about the matters which had brought on the conflict, but, as the great war with Napoleon had come to an end, the British had no further cause to interfere with American commerce.

244. The Hartford Convention and the End of the Federalists. — As we have seen, many people in New England were from the beginning opposed to what they called “Mr. Madison’s War.” They refused to lend money to the government to aid in financing the war and three of the New England states refused to enlist their militia in the United States service even when New England was threatened with invasion. As the war continued, there was much talk of separating New England from the Union, and in December, 1814, there assembled in Hartford a convention made up of men from the New England states whose purpose was evidently to prepare the way for the dissolution of the Union. The convention adjourned in



JAMES MONROE

the middle of January and sent a committee to Washington to present its demands to Congress. But the news of Jackson’s victory and the peace of Ghent destroyed whatever hopes of breaking up the Union New England may have entertained.

The Federalist Party, which had opposed the war and organized the Hartford Convention, rapidly lost its political influence and soon ceased to exist. In 1816, when

James Monroe of Virginia was elected to succeed Madison, the Federalists polled only thirty-five electoral votes; and,

four years later, when Monroe was reëlected, they did not have a single electoral vote.

245. Measures of Defense. — The Jeffersonian notion that the central government should be kept weak lost ground as a result of the war. The necessity of a fair-sized military establishment was seen, and at the end of the war a permanent army of ten thousand men was provided for, while \$4,000,000 was voted to strengthen the navy.

246. The Tariff of 1816. — The war had cut off imports of many kinds of manufactured goods and thus had stimulated home industries. The number of persons employed in American cotton mills rose from 4000 in 1810 to 100,000 in 1815, and a similar growth was recorded in other lines of manufacture. When peace reopened the American markets to English goods, many of the new industries were threatened with destruction. Congress came to their aid with the tariff law of 1816, which greatly increased the import duties on cotton and woolen goods, iron, leather goods, and other manufactured articles.

Another financial measure of the time was the establishment of the second United States Bank in 1816. The charter of the first United States Bank had expired in 1811 and during the war the need of such an institution had been sharply felt.

247. Growth of National Feeling. — The War of 1812 has been called the second war for independence; for, though we were an independent nation, neither England nor France had treated us with respect. The war gave us a place in the family of nations and at the same time increased our own self-respect. An English traveler who visited the country soon after the war found the people talking of



WASHINGTON IRVING

the "inferiority of British sailors and soldiers to the true-blooded Yankees."

The years following the war were marked by much interest in literary matters. Many serious reviews and popular magazines were established; of these *The North American Review*, begun in 1815, is the most notable survivor. It was in the *North American* for September, 1817, that Bryant's *Thanatopsis* first appeared. In

1819 Washington Irving published his *Sketch Book*, and two years later James Fenimore Cooper brought out *The Spy*. These books are notable as the first American books to be read widely outside of our own country.

Vocabulary

allies	frigate	retaliation
anti-slavery	humiliating	tribute
arrogant	invincible	
combatants	non-intercourse	

Questions

1. What do you know of Jefferson before he became President?
2. State briefly Jefferson's policy as President.
3. Locate Tripoli and Algiers.
4. What were the advantages and disadvantages of our trouble with these countries?
5. Why was the possession of New Orleans so important to the United States?
6. Has the Louisiana Purchase proved a wise one?
7. Where is the Columbia River? Trace the route of Lewis and Clark.
8. How did the invention of the steamboat help to develop the states west of the Allegheny?
9. Why was the Embargo Act a failure?
10. Give briefly the various causes for the War of 1812.
11. Of what value were the American naval victories?
12. In what ways was the United States unprepared for war?
13. How did Andrew

Jackson gain notice for the first time? 14. What were England's three points of attack? Why were they selected? Was the United States prepared to meet this attack? 15. Memorize *The Star-Spangled Banner*. 16. Make a list of the names of people or places made famous by this war. 17. Give two noteworthy examples of the lack of rapid trans-Atlantic news service. 18. Give a brief history of the Federalist Party up to its death. 19. Give all the important results of the War of 1812.

CHAPTER XV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST

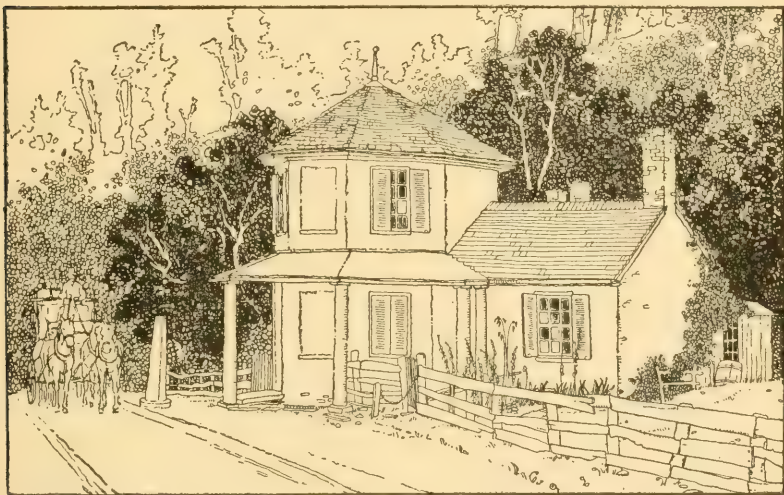
JAMES MONROE, PRESIDENT 1817-1825

248. Emigration Westward. — During the war the country became greatly interested in the West, which was the scene of much fighting; at the same time the victories of Harrison and Jackson over the Indians opened up to white settlement a large fertile area which in the years following the war attracted thousands of immigrants from the East and from the Old World. Immigration from Europe, which had averaged four or five thousand persons annually in the earlier years of the republic, increased very much after the War of 1812. In 1817 there landed in America about twenty-two thousand immigrants of whom one fifth were Germans and three fifths Irish. In the following years immigrants came in even greater numbers and many of them, as well as many Americans dwelling in the older states, moved west to establish homes in the newer regions of the country. How rapidly the West was growing may be seen in the case of Indiana, which from only 24,000 inhabitants in 1810 had grown to 147,000 in 1820.

In the South there was a very important westward movement of population attracted by the fertile "cotton belt," running from South Carolina through Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. This westward migration greatly ex-

tended and strengthened slavery, for the Southwest soon outstripped the old South in the production of cotton.

249. The Cumberland Road. — The westward movement showed the importance of good roads, and a great deal of money was spent by the states in constructing highways. The national government also exhibited an interest in road-building in the West and in 1811 began the construction of



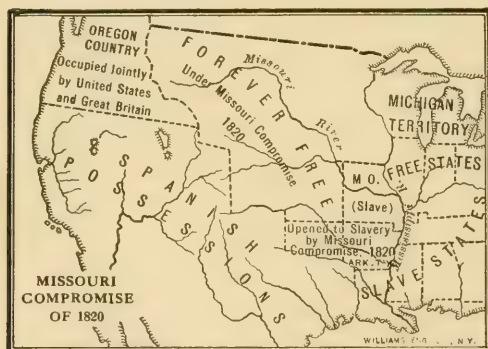
CUMBERLAND ROAD

a road from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, on the Ohio, following in part the route of General Braddock's old military road. After the war new appropriations were made for the Cumberland or National Road, which was gradually pushed westward through Columbus, Indianapolis, and other towns to Vandalia, Illinois. In all, Congress voted nearly seven million dollars for the construction of the Cumberland Road, which continued to be the great highway of

westward migration until the steam railroad provided a cheaper and faster means of travel.

250. New States Admitted. — In 1812, a few months before the outbreak of the war, Louisiana was admitted to the Union, — the first new state in ten years. The rapid growth of the country after the war is seen in the admission of six states: Indiana, in 1816; Mississippi, 1817; Illinois, 1818; Alabama, 1819; Maine, 1820; and Missouri, 1821.

251. The Missouri Compromise (1820). — The application of the people of Missouri for admission into the Union



brought the slavery question to the front as a grave political issue and aroused sectional jealousies, which continued until after the Civil War. Missouri was settled chiefly from the South, and its large slave-holding ele-

ment wished to see slavery continued when their community should become a state.

The political leaders in the South also were interested in seeing Missouri made a slave state, for with the admission of Alabama in 1819 the number of slave states just equaled the number of free states, and the admission of Missouri as a slave state would give the South control of the United States Senate.

In the North, where slavery had almost ceased to exist, there was growing opposition to the system of slavery; the

Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had prohibited slavery north of the Ohio, and many felt that a similar prohibition should be extended to the new lands beyond the Mississippi. So when Missouri, in 1819, asked for admission to the Union, the House of Representatives, controlled by Northerners, demanded that slavery be abolished in the proposed state; but in the Senate Southern influence was strong enough to reject the demand and the matter was postponed for another year. The debate in Congress was brief, but the whole slavery question was opened up for discussion and much bitterness was displayed in the speeches of congressmen. Many earnest men saw that the country was entering upon a great conflict.

The next year, 1820, the Missouri question was again before Congress, but now Maine was also applying for admission as a new state and an opportunity for a bargain was presented. By the terms of the agreement then made, which is known as the Missouri Compromise, Maine came in as a free state (1820) and Missouri as a slave state (1821); slavery was to be prohibited in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of the southern boundary of Missouri (latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$).

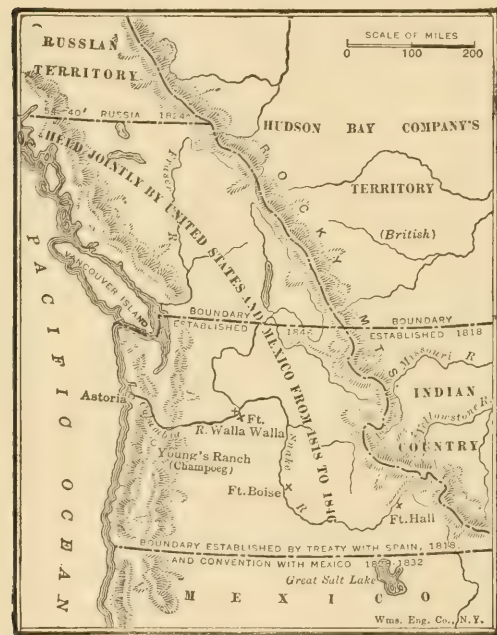
The danger of disunion was averted for the time and the greater part of the Louisiana Purchase was kept free from slavery.

252. The Northern Boundary; Joint Occupation of Oregon. — In 1818 the United States and Great Britain came to an agreement with regard to the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase. When American independence was recognized in 1783, the geography of the western country was little known and the boundary between American and British possessions in the Northwest was drawn from

the Lake of the Woods "due west" to the Mississippi; but later it was found that the great river rises some distance to the south of that lake and it was seen that a new boundary would have to be drawn. Moreover, the northern boundary of the Louisiana Province had not been defined at

the time of the purchase, and still remained to be fixed. The agreement of 1818 took care of both these difficulties by fixing upon the 49th parallel of latitude as the boundary between the United States and the British possessions from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains.

Beyond the Rockies lay the Oregon Country, which was claimed by both the United States and



OREGON COUNTRY

Great Britain, and as no division of the territory could be agreed upon, it was decided that the two countries should hold Oregon jointly for a period of ten years.

253. The Acquisition of Florida. — While the question of the northern boundary was being settled, the United States was trying to secure Florida from Spain. The people

of Georgia and Alabama for years had been anxious to have the lands lying between them and the Gulf of Mexico under American control; besides, Florida had become a place of refuge for pirates, runaway negroes, and hostile Seminole Indians, who were in the habit of making raids on American frontier settlements. In 1818 General Andrew Jackson was put in command of a military force to punish the Seminoles; he followed the Indians into the Spanish territory, took two Spanish forts, and in a short time had possession of practically the entire province. Spain protested vigorously against the invasion of her territory and demanded the punishment of Jackson, but John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State, replied that Spain ought either to preserve order in Florida or hand it over to the United States. All the Spanish colonies in America were in revolt at this time, and the Spanish government was not in a position to suppress the pirates and lawless Indians of Florida; it decided, therefore, in 1819, to cede the province to the United States on condition that our government pay certain claims of American citizens against Spain, which were not to exceed \$5,000,000. The formal transfer of Florida was made in 1821, and Andrew Jackson became its first American governor.

254. The Monroe Doctrine. — By 1822 the Spanish colonies on the mainland in both North and South America had succeeded in throwing off the authority of Spain and had set up republican governments of their own. Spain was naturally unwilling to lose her American possessions, and asked certain European countries to aid her. The rulers of these nations were opposed to the extension of republican forms of government, whether in Europe or in America. The United States, on the other hand, was glad

to recognize the independence of the new republics and did not wish to see its southern neighbors again ruled by a monarchy. Moreover, there was danger that if the strong nations of Europe helped Spain to reconquer her former American lands they would take portions of Mexico and South America as payment for their services. At the same time Russia, who already possessed Alaska, was pushing farther down the Pacific coast and threatening American claims in Oregon. The United States would feel very uncomfortable with several of the great European powers as near neighbors.

President Monroe and Secretary Adams decided to protest against this double danger of European interference in South America and Russian aggression on the Pacific. England also was interested in maintaining the independence of the Spanish-American republics, for their trade, which was now open to her merchants, would be closed if Spain regained power over them. Canning, the British foreign minister, suggested that England and the United States together protest against European interference in the southern republics; but Secretary Adams insisted that the United States should "not come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war." Monroe, therefore, put aside the suggestion of joint action with England and determined upon a protest by the United States alone. This protest, which has become famous as the Monroe Doctrine, was contained in President Monroe's annual message to Congress in December, 1823, and consists of these declarations of American policy:

(1) We shall not meddle in European affairs.

(2) The American continents "are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any Euro-

pean powers." This had special reference to Russia and Oregon. The next year Russia withdrew her claims to American territory south of $54^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude.

(3) We shall consider any attempt on the part of the great powers of continental Europe "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." We shall look upon any interference with the new republics to the south of us "for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, . . . as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

255. The Erie Canal. — While the national government was occupied with the settlement of the Northwest boundary, the acquisition of Florida, and the Monroe Doctrine, the people of New York were engaged in a work which was destined to unite the East and West more closely and to increase greatly the wealth of the whole country. In 1817 they began the building of a great canal over three hundred sixty miles in length, connecting the Hudson River near Albany with Lake Erie at Buffalo. The people of the western part of the state were demanding cheaper means of transportation for their crops, and leading men saw that the construction of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson would not only lower the cost of carrying goods to and from the West but would make of New York one of the great cities of the world. The governor, De Witt Clinton, was especially powerful in advocating the proposed waterway, which, he said, would "create the greatest inland trade ever witnessed." New York, he declared, would "in the course of time become the granary of the world, the emporium of commerce, the seat of manufactures, the focus of great moneyed operations." He predicted that in less than a

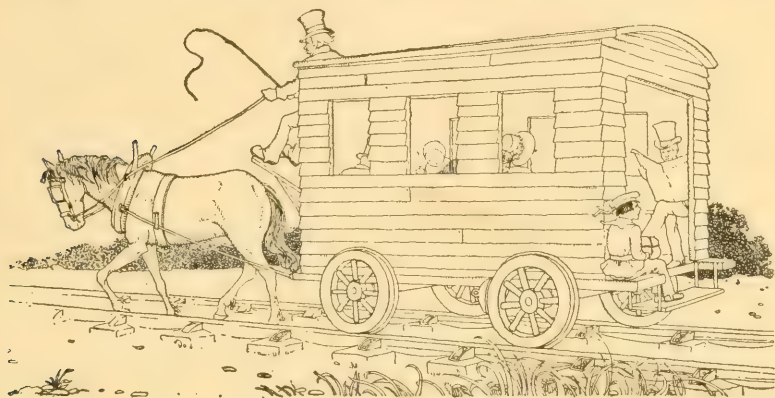
century Manhattan Island would be filled with a dense population and would be one vast city.

The Erie Canal was opened for traffic throughout its length in 1825, and its beneficial effects were felt at once. The cost of carrying freight was greatly reduced and the produce of the farms of western New York more than doubled in price, with the result that population poured into the lands along the canal. New York City grew even more rapidly than Clinton had predicted, and in a few years became the chief city of the country.

256. The Construction of Railroads. — The success of the Erie Canal led to the building of new canals in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other states, but already many persons were taking an interest in a means of transportation which was to prove superior even to the canals. An Englishman, George Stephenson, had completed in 1814 a locomotive which was used for hauling coal, and by 1830 steam railroads were in use in England for both passengers and freight. Americans were quick to see the advantages of the new means of transportation and by 1828 the merchants of Baltimore secured a charter for a railroad from their city across the mountains to the Ohio River. On July 4 of that year the venerable Charles Carroll, signer of the Declaration of Independence, took part in the ceremony which marked the beginning of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The railroad was opened for traffic in 1830; at first the cars were propelled by horse power and sails, but after some months steam power was utilized. Other shorter lines had already been equipped with steam power, and in a few years railroad building was rapidly extended, nearly three thousand miles of rails being in use by 1840.

The early railroads were of crude construction; the rails

were of wood with their upper surface protected by a strip of iron. The coaches were made in imitation of the stage



PASSENGER CAR OF 1830, BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD

coaches of the time, but soon a style of carriage was developed which was more suited to the new needs.

257. The Election of 1824. — The growing importance of the West was shown in the political field when in 1824 two of the candidates for the presidency, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee and Henry Clay of Kentucky, were western men. The other candidates were John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts and William Crawford of Georgia. All four candidates were Republicans, so the contest was a personal one. Jackson received the largest number of electoral votes with Adams second and Crawford third, but as no one had a majority of the votes cast the House of Representatives was called upon, as the Constitution directs, to choose the President from the three leading candidates. Clay, who was Speaker of the House, threw his strength to Adams, who was duly elected as the successor of President Monroe.

Vocabulary

average	doctrine	emporium	majority	republic
compromise	electoral	fertile	monarchy	utilized

Questions

1. Give three reasons for western migration after the War of 1812.
2. To what great national highway of to-day may the Cumberland Road be compared? Give route of each. 3. Review the history of slavery in the United States up to and including the Missouri Compromise. 4. On what basis is representation apportioned in the United States Senate? In the House of Representatives? 5. How did these facts affect the slavery question? 6. What is the importance of the Missouri Compromise? 7. Why was the possession of Florida desired by the United States? How was it acquired? 8. Why was there any question as to ownership of the Oregon Country? 9. Explain carefully the circumstances leading up to the Monroe Doctrine. 10. State its provisions. 11. To what extent has the prophecy of De Witt Clinton concerning New York come true? 12. In a general way how do freight rates by water compare with those by land transportation? 13. Are we making sufficient use of our waterways — especially the great artery, the Mississippi and its tributaries?

CHAPTER XVI

THE JACKSONIAN PERIOD

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, JACKSON, AND VAN BUREN

258. "**The Will of the People.**" — The friends of Jackson were very greatly disappointed when the House of Representatives refused to elect their candidate. He had received the highest electoral vote and was, therefore, they said, the people's choice for the presidency. They admitted that the House had a constitutional right to choose one of the other leading candidates; but when the will of the people had been expressed in Jackson's favor, the House, they said, ought to have conformed to the popular choice.

Adams had scarcely begun his term in the presidential office in 1825 when the Jackson men brought forward their leader as a candidate for the presidency in the election to be held in 1828. Jackson was already extremely popular as a successful Indian fighter and the hero of the battle of New Orleans. His cause was now taken up by thousands who believed that he was the real



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

choice of the people in 1824 and had been wrongfully deprived of the presidency by the House of Representatives.

Others supported Jackson's candidacy because they wished to destroy the order of succession to the presidency which had been established. Jefferson had been succeeded by his Secretary of State, Madison. Madison had been succeeded by Monroe, his Secretary of State, and Adams in turn had been promoted from Secretary of State to President. To continue in that way was to let the President name his successor.

259. New Political Parties. — In the campaign of 1824 all the leading candidates had called themselves Republicans, but now a division appeared in the party ranks. The followers of Jackson called themselves Democratic-Republicans or simply Democrats; while the friends of Adams and Clay united under the name National Republicans, but later called themselves Whigs. In general the Whigs favored a protective tariff, loose construction of the Constitution, and internal improvements, and the Jacksonian Democrats opposed these things.

260. The Tariff of 1828 Aids Jackson. — The manufacturing interests of New England and other Northern States secured in 1828 a high protective tariff. The South, an agricultural region, felt none of the benefits of the high tariff. The people of this section, having to pay more for their manufactured goods, raised a loud protest against the act of 1828. Some of them even threatened to dissolve the Union if the tariff was not abolished. Jackson, who was a cotton-planter, seemed a much better candidate for the South to support than Adams, who came from New England, the home of protection.

261. Jackson Becomes President. — In the election of 1828 Jackson received 178 electoral votes against 83 for Adams; not a single vote west of the Alleghenies or south of the Potomac was cast for the New England candidate. The will of the people had finally triumphed, and the frontier soldier became president. His election was greeted with an outburst of popular enthusiasm, and great crowds of people were present in Washington on March 4, 1829, to witness his inauguration.

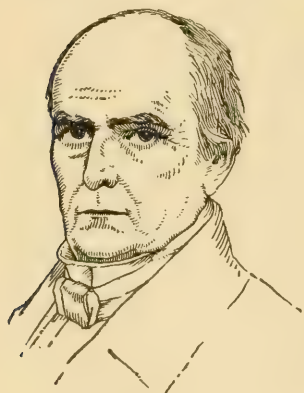


ANDREW JACKSON

262. The Spoils System. — Among those who came to see the new President begin his term of office were many politicians who hoped Jackson would give them government offices. Senator Marcy of New York, a leader of the Jacksonian party, declared that “to the victors belong the spoils of office”; this view was held by many of the new President’s advisers, and Jackson himself believed a frequent change of officials desirable. In his first year of office he removed two thousand government officials to make way for his friends; in the whole history of the country up to his time scarcely two hundred removals had been made. The sweeping action of Jackson in this matter was followed by his successors, and for fifty years the spoils system became a blot on American politics.

263. The Webster-Hayne Debate (1830). — In 1828, when the South protested against the high tariff of that year, the Vice-President, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, took part in the discussion as the champion of the Southern view.

He declared that the tariff was extremely harmful to the South and that "protection" was unauthorized by the Constitution. It was his opinion that not only had the states created the Union, but they had retained the authority to determine how much power had been given to the central government under the Constitution. A state which was injured by an unconstitutional tariff had a right to nullify or suspend within its borders the act of Congress which imposed the tariff. Calhoun adopted the argument of the



DANIEL WEBSTER

Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 that the states are to be the judges of unconstitutional acts, but he went further and sought to provide a practical means by which unconstitutional acts of Congress might be set aside. His views were accepted by many persons in the South, and in 1830 were put forth in the United States Senate by Robert Hayne of South Carolina.

Daniel Webster of Massachusetts in two great speeches replied to Hayne. He held that the Supreme

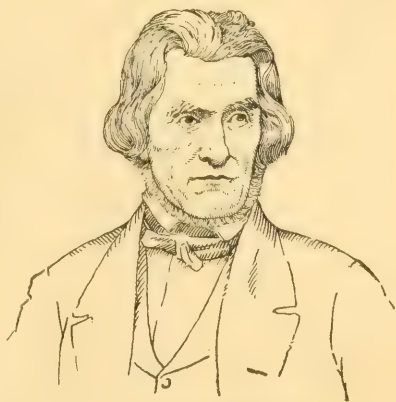
Court, not the individual state, is the judge as to whether or not the laws of Congress are constitutional. If men were dissatisfied with the Constitution, they had a right to change it, but while it remained the law of the land it was to be obeyed. He went on to show that nullification in practice would mean open resistance to the laws and would lead the country into civil war. In closing his argument he hoped that the Union might be preserved and declared that the sentiment of every true

American was "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

264. Jackson's Attitude Toward Nullification. — The friends of state rights and nullification were anxious to secure the assistance of President Jackson, who had been known as a state rights man and as opposed to a high tariff. But at a Jefferson Day banquet (April 13, 1830), the President proposed the toast "Our Federal Union; it must be preserved!" thereby associating himself with the Union views of Webster and serving notice on the friends of nullification that they could not count on his support. On several occasions in the following months he made it plain that he would oppose nullification with force if necessary. On the other hand, he believed that the tariff was too high and recommended its reduction. In 1832 a new tariff law was passed, which failed to remove the burdens of the Southern planters, and though it lost ground in other parts of the South, the nullification movement continued to grow in strength in South Carolina.

265. Jackson Reëlected.

— In the presidential election of 1832 Jackson was a candidate to succeed himself and was opposed by Henry Clay of Kentucky. Though deserted by Calhoun and other Southern leaders, Jack-



JOHN C. CALHOUN

son was reëlected by a large majority. Martin Van Buren of New York, a shrewd political leader who had been

Secretary of State in Jackson's first Cabinet, was chosen Vice-President.

266. The Beginning of National Nominating Conventions. — The election of 1832 brought into use for the first time the national nominating convention. The first convention of this kind was held in Baltimore in September, 1831, by the Anti-masonic Party. This party had been organized in western New York for the purpose of opposing Freemasonry. It denounced the Masonic order as a secret political society and accused it of having made away with a certain William Morgan of Batavia, New York, who had published a book designed to expose the secrets of Masonry. The Anti-masons named William Wirt of Virginia as their candidate for the presidency. A few months later the National Republicans, or Whigs, as they soon came to be called, met in Baltimore and nominated Henry Clay. Another convention, made up of persons friendly to Clay, met in Washington in May, 1832, and adopted a "platform" endorsing protection and attacking Jackson's administration. The Democrats followed the example of the other parties and in a national convention held in Baltimore in May, 1832, nominated Jackson for President and Van Buren for Vice-President.

Since 1832 the national convention and the party platform have secured a recognized place in American politics.

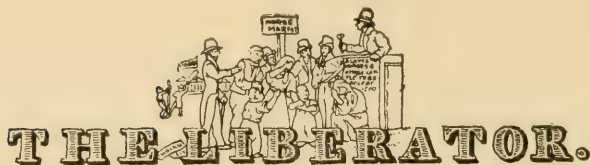
267. Nullification in South Carolina. — A few weeks after the reelection of Jackson, South Carolina adopted an Ordinance of Nullification which declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 not binding on the people of that state and announced its intention to secede from the Union if the United States attempted to enforce the obnoxious acts. The President at once made military and naval preparations to

uphold the laws of the United States and, in a proclamation to the people of South Carolina, vigorously denounced the doctrine of nullification. He made it plain that he was prepared to force South Carolina to obey — at the point of the bayonet, if necessary.

268. The Tariff Compromise of 1833. — Though Jackson was ready to use force against South Carolina, he hoped to avoid extreme measures and interested himself in securing a revision of the tariff of which Calhoun and his friends complained. Through the influence of Clay, the protected interests of the North agreed to a gradual reduction of the tariff during a period of ten years, so that after 1842 no rate should exceed twenty per cent. South Carolina declared herself satisfied and in March, 1833, repealed the Ordinance of Nullification. Her threat of secession for a time stopped the onward march of protection.

269. Jackson's Attitude Toward the United States Bank. — In his first term Jackson had vetoed a bill to recharter the Bank of the United States, an institution which he believed to be unconstitutional and dangerous to the welfare of the country. Through its numerous branches throughout the country the Bank was able to exercise a great political influence, and many persons besides Jackson had come to fear its power. During his second term Jackson continued his hostility to the Bank, and on the expiration of its charter in 1836, it passed out of existence as a national bank.

270. The Abolition Movement. — During Jackson's presidency there arose a widespread discussion of the evils of slavery, and a movement for the abolition of the slave system attracted a great deal of attention. The leader of the movement was William Lloyd Garrison who, in 1831,



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IN ADVANCE

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began publishing in Boston the *Liberator*, a paper devoted to the freedom of the black race in America. In 1833 he organized the American Anti-slavery Society, which within ten years had two thousand local branches and a total membership of a quarter of a million. Wendell Phillips became the great orator of the movement and John Greenleaf Whittier its poet.

A number of persons who were interested in the abolition movement undertook to aid slaves in escaping from the South by what was known as the "Underground Railway." The homes of those engaged in the work were called "stations," and "conductors" escorted escaped slaves from one "station" to another until fear of pursuit was over or Canada was reached. It is said that from 1830 to 1860 several thousand slaves escaped from their owners each year by the help of the "Underground Railway."

During these years when the North was growing interested in abolition, the South became more attached to slavery, the area of cotton culture was extended, and the necessity of slave labor was more keenly felt than before. Southerners resented the talk of abolition and complained that a

serious slave insurrection in Virginia was due to the spread of abolitionist literature. At the same time, negroes were treated more harshly, laws were passed to prevent the blacks from learning to read and write, negro meetings were forbidden unless white men were present, and other measures were taken to prevent the slaves from making plans to secure their freedom.

The attention of Congress was soon called to the growing friction between North and South. The abolitionists sent to Congress many petitions asking for action against slavery; and in 1836 the House of Representatives, at the request of Southern members, refused to listen to the reading of these petitions. The right of petition is guaranteed by the Constitution, and John Quincy Adams, who was now a member of Congress, led in a spirited protest against the action of the House. But for eight years his protests were unheeded, and it was not until 1844 that the slave interests in the House permitted the reading of anti-slavery petitions. They had learned by that time that their denial of the right of petition was making thousands of friends for abolition.

271. Van Buren Chosen President. — As the time approached for the election of 1836, Jackson compelled the Democratic Party to name Martin Van Buren of New York as its candidate for the presidency. The Whigs, as the opposing party was now called, were disunited and Van Buren won an easy victory.



MARTIN VAN BUREN

272. The Panic of 1837. — The new President had scarcely begun his term of office when the country was plunged into a disastrous financial panic, caused chiefly by reckless speculation in western lands and unwise investments in railroad and canal building in the West. The success of the Erie Canal had led to the building of many others, for which millions of dollars were borrowed by the state governments as well as by private interests. In like manner railroads were built at great cost, into regions which could not pay for them for many years to come. The opening up of these lines of transportation led to a rapid rise in the price of western lands, and the hope of quick profits brought thousands of investors to the West. Foreigners who were anxious to share in the profits from American investments sent great sums to be invested in railroads and lands. New towns were located in the midst of the western wilderness; building lots and factory sites were sold at extravagant prices in "cities" which existed only in the imagination of the real estate salesman. The banks promoted this reckless speculation by issuing "paper money" and lending it freely to the speculators.

In the last year of his presidency Jackson had become alarmed over this wild speculation in lands; he felt that many of the banks were carelessly, if not dishonestly, conducted, and that their "paper money," or notes, had little or no real value. In July, 1836, he issued an order known as the Specie Circular, directing the Treasury to accept only gold or silver (specie) in payment for public lands.

This demand for specie payments helped to bring the period of speculation to an end, and by the time Van Buren took up his presidential duties the land "boom" was over. In 1837 the sales of government land fell to less than a mil-

lion dollars, which was one twenty-fifth of what they had been the year before. Sound money was not to be had, and men ceased to buy more than the bare necessities of life. Hundreds of banks closed their doors, and it was said that in the summer of 1837, nine tenths of the factories in the Eastern states shut down. To add to the general distress the wheat crop had failed in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the South Atlantic states, and the rise in the price of flour threatened thousands with starvation.

273. Establishment of the Independent Treasury System.

— When Jackson was fighting the United States Bank, he had withdrawn the public moneys from that institution and distributed them among various private banks, “pet banks” as they were called by his enemies. In the panic of 1837 many of the “pet banks” failed, and the government lost a great deal of money. For that reason Van Buren formed a plan to have the government take care of its own money without the aid of banks. In 1840 sub-treasuries were established at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and New Orleans, where vaults were constructed for the reception of government funds. This plan has been known as the Independent Treasury System.

274. The Election of 1840. — The Democrats renominated Van Buren for President in 1840. The Whigs chose William Henry Harrison, Indian fighter and hero of the War of 1812, as their leader, with John Tyler of Virginia as candidate for Vice-President. The campaign, which was unlike any other political contest in our history, proved most exciting.

Harrison was referred to by an opponent as a rough frontiersman whose place was in a log-cabin drinking hard cider, and thus he became known as the log-cabin candidate.

The Whigs accepted the title as one of honor; they were glad to put their candidate forward as a poor man and a friend of the people. No Whig gathering was complete without a picture of a log-cabin, with a barrel of cider in front, a coonskin nailed up to dry, and other evidences of frontier life. Sometimes a cabin was built and drawn on wheels in the torchlight processions of the campaign.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

While they praised their own candidate as a plain man of the people, the Whigs denounced Van Buren as an aristocrat. He used dishes of gold and silver on his table, they said, and dressed himself before costly French mirrors. The people of the West voted for Harrison because he was the "log-cabin candidate" and the "hero of Tippecanoe,"

and they voted against Van Buren because they held him responsible for their sufferings in the hard times of 1837. The East wanted an increase in tariff duties to protect its manufacturers and so was led to vote for the Whig candidates. Harrison and Tyler were chosen by an overwhelming majority, receiving 234 electoral votes against 60 for their opponents.

Vocabulary

obnoxious panic speculation nullification

Questions

1. Explain the new division of parties prior to the election of 1828. What was the outcome of this election? 2. Note the origin of the "spoils system" for future reference. 3. State the arguments on both sides of

nullification. 4. How was a crisis on this question avoided in Jackson's administration? 5. Has the idea of a national bank been reëstablished since Jackson's time? 6. Name the famous men of the abolition movement. 7. What methods did these men use to further their cause? 8. How did the panic of 1837 lead to the establishment of sub-treasuries? Is this plan still in operation? 9. What seemed to be the issue in the election of 1840?

CHAPTER XVII

TEXAS, OREGON, AND MEXICO

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF TYLER AND POLK

275. Tyler Becomes President; Quarrels with the Whigs. — General Harrison, who was already an old man, was taken ill soon after his inauguration and died April 4, 1841, having been in office just a month. In accordance with the Constitution, the Vice-President, John Tyler of Virginia, succeeded to the presidency.



JOHN TYLER

The Whigs had opposed Jackson's bank policy and, now that they were in power, hoped to reëstablish a United States Bank; but when they passed a bill for that purpose, it was promptly vetoed by President Tyler. The new President was not a very strong Whig; he had left the Democratic Party be-

cause he disliked Jackson; but he had not given up his Democratic principles. Henry Clay and other Whig leaders denounced him for his veto of the bank bill and "read him out of the party." The whole Cabinet, with the exception of Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, resigned to show their disapproval of the President's action. The political

quarrel thus begun in the early months of Tyler's administration continued as long as he remained in office. The victory of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" proved of little value to the Whigs.

276. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty. — One reason why Webster remained in the Cabinet when his colleagues resigned was that he might finish negotiations which he had begun with the British government concerning the northeast boundary of Maine. In the treaty of 1783, which recognized American independence, the St. Croix River was named as forming part of the boundary line between Canada and the United States; but, as there were several rivers of that name in the Northeast, a dispute arose as to which was to be accepted as the true boundary. The United States claimed about twelve thousand square miles of territory more than the British were willing to concede; in the course of time Americans and Canadians began to penetrate this disputed area; and, in 1838, an armed conflict was with difficulty avoided. Webster determined to settle the matter peaceably, if possible, and in 1842 made an agreement with Lord Ashburton, the British representative, by which the United States received somewhat more than half the disputed territory.

At the same time the two nations agreed to aid each other in putting down the African slave trade.

277. The Establishment of the Republic of Texas. — Americans in their search for new lands were not disposed to stop at the western boundary of the United States, and many thousands of them from 1820 to 1830 were attracted by the fertile soil of what is now the state of Texas. The Mexican authorities who controlled the land were glad at first to welcome American settlers, but soon they began to

fear that the newcomers would establish a government of their own and separate Texas from Mexico. In 1830 the Mexicans sought to prevent further American settlement in Texas, and at the same time to prohibit the further introduction of slaves. The Americans refused to accept either of these regulations and prepared to assert their independence. This they finally achieved in 1836 at the battle of San Jacinto, under the leadership of General Sam Houston, a former governor of Tennessee and a friend of Andrew Jackson. The next year the United States recognized the independence of the Republic of Texas.

278. Annexation of Texas (1845). — A proposal was soon made for the annexation of the new republic to the United States. The people were chiefly Americans and besides had been put to heavy expense to maintain an army of defense against Mexico and were, therefore, anxious to secure annexation. The South looked with friendly eyes on the proposal, because annexation would mean the extension of slavery into new fields and might greatly increase the strength of the South in the Senate. For Texas was so large that four or five states could be carved out of it. The anti-slavery forces of the North protested against the extension of slave territory, and threats were heard in Massachusetts that annexation would be followed by the break-up of the Union. Others opposed annexation because it might lead to war with Mexico, which had not yet recognized the independence of Texas.

But a sentiment favorable to the entrance of Texas into the Union was growing, as was shown in the presidential election of 1844 when the Democrats, who demanded annexation, were victorious. President Tyler urged Congress to act; and, a few days before he laid down the duties of his

office in March, 1845, he was able to send a messenger to Texas with an offer of annexation. It was accepted and in December of that year the Republic of Texas became a state of the American Union.

279. The Election of Polk. — In the campaign of 1844 the Democrats demanded not only the annexation of Texas but the occupation of the whole of Oregon. As the South wanted Texas and the West wanted Oregon, those two sections united in support of the Democratic candidate, James K. Polk of Tennessee, who was successful over Henry Clay, his Whig opponent.



JAMES K. POLK

280. The Oregon Question. — Oregon was the name given to the country west of the Rocky Mountains lying between the Spanish possessions in California and the Russian possessions in Alaska; that is, from 42° to $54^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude. The explorations of Captain Gray along the Oregon coast and his discovery of the Columbia River in 1792, as well as the expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1805-1806, laid the foundation for American claims to Oregon. John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company founded a trading post, Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia in 1811, and other American merchants and traders entered the country to traffic with the Indians. Englishmen also had explored the country and were busily engaged in the fur trade.

As both nations claimed Oregon and were unable to agree upon a division of it, they decided in 1818 that the country should be "free and open" to Americans and British alike for a period of ten years. As the ten-year period drew to a

close, the United States offered to make the forty-ninth parallel the dividing line west of the Rockies as it was east of the mountains; but England held out for the Columbia River as the boundary. Failing to agree on a boundary line, the two nations in 1827 extended the agreement of 1818 indefinitely, but either party was free to bring it to a close upon giving a year's notice.

In the next ten or fifteen years Americans became greatly interested in Oregon; they heard of the agricultural possibilities of the region and a considerable number of immigrants made their way into the rich Willamette Valley in the western part of what is now the state of Oregon. In 1843 about one thousand persons with sixty wagons and several thousand head of cattle crossed the plains over the famous Oregon Trail from Independence, Missouri. A larger number went the next year; and in 1845 a still larger number caught the "Oregon fever," as it was called. Three thousand persons crossed the plains that year. Widespread interest had been aroused and many insisted that the United States should retain the whole of Oregon, even at the cost of war with Great Britain. "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" ($54^{\circ} 40'$) became the campaign cry of the Democrats in 1844 when they elected Polk.

281. The Question Settled (1846). — Though his party had demanded the whole of Oregon, Polk, in the early months of his presidency, offered England the line of the forty-ninth parallel, but the British minister at Washington rejected the offer. The President then prepared to assert the claims of the United States to the entire region in dispute. He urged Congress to extend the laws of the United States over the settlers of Oregon, to establish Indian agencies beyond the mountains, and to provide military protection

for the Oregon Trail. In May, 1846, he gave notice that the agreement of 1827 for the joint occupation of Oregon was at an end. The vigorous stand of the President had its effect in England, and the British Government itself now proposed the forty-ninth parallel as a satisfactory boundary line. The proposal was accepted and by a treaty of July, 1846, the United States became firmly established on the Pacific coast.

282. War with Mexico. — Before the Oregon treaty was signed, the country was at war with Mexico. Our southern neighbor had not recognized the independence of Texas and had announced that an annexation of that state would amount to a declaration of war. When we finally offered to annex Texas, the Mexican Government broke off diplomatic relations with the United States and prepared to resist the loss of Texas by force of arms. President Polk ordered troops under General Zachary Taylor to proceed to the defense of Texas and toward the end of the year (1845) sent a commissioner to Mexico to arrange, if possible, a peaceable settlement of the dispute.

Polk was very anxious to secure the Mexican province of California, particularly the fine bay and harbor of San Francisco, and he thought that the Mexican Government, which was badly in need of money, might be induced for a good round sum to sell California, on which its hold was slight, and give up its claim to Texas. Mexico appeared unwilling to discuss the matter, and Polk, early in 1846, ordered General Taylor to advance to the Rio Grande. The President seems to have thought that the presence of an armed force so near the border would make Mexico more willing to come to a peaceable settlement, but he was mistaken and Taylor's advance led directly to war.

Texas claimed the Rio Grande as its southwestern boundary; whereas Mexico said the boundary was the Nueces River, farther east. When Taylor approached the



FIELD OF THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO

Rio Grande, he was warned by the Mexican authorities to withdraw beyond the Nueces; he refused, as he had gone there with the intention of upholding the Texan claim. A few days later a small detachment of American troops was attacked and defeated by a Mexican force. When

news of this skirmish reached Washington, Congress declared (May 12, 1846) that war existed, by act of Mexico.

Before war was formally declared, General Taylor had fought two battles at Monterey and had taken that city. Early in 1847 (February 23) Santa Anna, the Mexican leader, attacked Taylor's army of 5000 men at Buena Vista with a force four times as large, but was disastrously defeated. With this victory for the American arms the war in northern Mexico came to an end.

283. California Is Occupied. — If Polk could not buy California, he now had an opportunity to take it by force of arms. He had given orders to an American squadron in the Pacific to seize San Francisco and other harbors on the coast if war broke out with Mexico; and immediately after the declaration of war he sent General Stephen W. Kearney overland to coöperate with the naval force. Kearney left Fort Leavenworth toward the end of June, and on August 18 occupied the city of Santa Fe without opposition. He organized a temporary government for New Mexico and then set out with a small force for California. On his way he heard that the naval forces of the United States had already occupied the chief harbors on the coast, and it fell to him merely to organize a provisional government for the conquered province. This he did in the spring of 1847.

284. The Capture of Mexico City. — After the war had been going on for some months, President Polk and his advisers decided to strike directly at the center of Mexican power by taking the important seaport of Vera Cruz and marching from there upon the City of Mexico. General Winfield Scott, who had won a good name in the War of 1812, was placed in charge of the expedition, and at the end of March, 1847, captured Vera Cruz after a brief siege.

Cerro Gordo, a strongly fortified position about eighty miles inland, was taken April 17. Operations then ceased



GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT

for several months while efforts were made to secure peace. Nothing came of the peace negotiations, and early in August Scott pushed on towards the capital. The great fortress of Chapultepec was taken by assault, September 13, and the next day the American forces entered the City of Mexico.

285. Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848). — Negotiations for peace were again undertaken, and on February 2, 1848, the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed. By its terms the Rio Grande was recognized as the Texas boundary, and New Mexico and California passed to the United States, which agreed to pay \$15,000,000 for them and to assume the claims of American citizens against Mexico.

A few years later a dispute arose over the boundary line between the two countries and to settle the difficulty the United States purchased (1853) a strip of territory south of the Gila River, known as the Gadsden Purchase because its acquisition was arranged for by James Gadsden, the American Minister to Mexico at the time.

286. The Discovery of Gold in California. — Ten days before the treaty of peace was signed, gold was discovered in California on the south fork of the American River near

the present site of Coloma. It was soon found that the region was rich in gold deposits, and before the summer was over, great numbers of gold-seekers from San Francisco and other western settlements had flocked to the scene of the discovery. As the news spread to the East toward the end of the year, thousands prepared to migrate to the "Land of Gold." In the spring of 1849 more than 20,000 gold-hunters set out across the plains with their cattle and supplies. Other thousands went by way of the Isthmus of Panama, and still others took the all-water route around Cape Horn. It is estimated that about 80,000 immigrants, "the forty-niners," had arrived by the end of 1849.

287. The California Missions. — Before the American occupation, California had been the scene of a remarkable work of civilization among the Indians. Franciscan missionaries, under the leadership of Father Junipero Serra, founded an Indian mission at San Diego in July, 1769; in the next fifteen years, before the great leader's death, nine other missions had been established; and in later years as many more were founded. "At the height of mission prosperity," writes Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, the learned historian of the California



FATHER JUNIPERO SERRA

missions, "30,000 Indians lived under the paternal eyes of the Franciscans within the shadow of twenty-one missions, who were there fed, clothed, and educated according to their capacity, with no expense to the government. The missions maintained themselves through raising stock and agriculture under the direction of the friars. Everything

needed was manufactured at these establishments by the Indians, directed by their spiritual guides."

This noble experiment was doomed to failure largely through the cupidity of the Mexican officials in California, who, in the years preceding the American occupation, confiscated the property of the Indians and dispersed the natives. The mission buildings which have remained have had a marked influence on western American architecture.

288. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850). — As a result of the American possession of California and Oregon, American capitalists became interested in a plan to build an inter-oceanic canal across Nicaragua. But Great Britain had acquired control of the eastern end of the proposed route and it seemed necessary to secure her consent to the building project. A treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the purpose of controlling this or any other roadway across the isthmus was made in 1850 and is known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, Clayton being the American Secretary of State and Bulwer the British Minister at Washington at the time. By the terms of the treaty, the two nations pledged themselves to support and encourage the construction of the canal and not to seek exclusive control over it. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty was annulled in 1901, when the United States wished to build the Panama Canal under its own control.

Vocabulary

penetrate

vigilance

cupidity

Map Exercise

1. Trace carefully on a map the campaigns in the Mexican War.
2. Locate all places of interest in California mentioned in this chapter.

Questions

1. What do you know of Tyler's history when he became President?
2. Was the annexation of Texas by the United States justifiable?
3. How long is the boundary line between Canada and the United States? What disputes concerning this boundary have arisen? Give the solution in each case.
4. What causes were given by the United States for war with Mexico?
5. Give the terms and name of the treaty closing the war.
6. What remains to-day of the early California missions? Name some of the most famous.
7. Does the Clayton-Bulwer treaty tell anything of the relations at the time between the United States and Great Britain?

CHAPTER XVIII

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CHANGES

289. The Growth in Population. — In the years we are considering, a very large increase in the population of the country took place. From seventeen million in 1840, the numbers rose to thirty-one million in 1860. Immigration was an important factor in this growth; the Irish famine sent great numbers to America in 1847 and later years, and at the same time a series of bad harvests and political disturbances in Germany swelled the tide of immigration. In 1849 the number of immigrants rose to nearly 300,000. After the Irish and the Germans, the English formed the largest group of immigrants in this period, though French, Swiss, and Dutch came in considerable numbers. In 1860 there were over four million persons of foreign birth in the country.

The newcomers settled chiefly in the North, avoiding the South because they could not compete with slave labor. Those who had means were attracted in large numbers to the fertile lands of the Northwest. Others obtained work on the railroads which were building into the West, and by this means earned enough to set themselves up as farmers on the cheap lands which the new railroads opened to settlement. At the same time the growing factory towns of the East offered employment to thousands of immigrants.

The growth of population and the extension of agriculture are seen in the admission of these new states: Arkansas (1836); Michigan (1837); Florida and Texas (1845); Iowa (1846); Wisconsin (1848); California (1849); Minnesota (1858); and Oregon (1859).

290. Labor Conditions in the Factories. — The use of machinery for spinning and weaving and other manufacturing processes increased rapidly after the War of 1812, and many kinds of work which had previously been done in the home or in the small shop were now performed in factories. Factory towns grew up rapidly in New England and the Middle Atlantic states, and workingmen's families, accustomed to life in the country, were crowded into unwholesome city dwellings. The laws did little to protect the working people, who toiled, often in unsanitary surroundings, for thirteen or even fifteen hours a day. Even women and children were required in many mills to be at work at half past four in the morning and were beaten by brutal overseers if their work seemed insufficient in amount or otherwise unsatisfactory. In many of the cotton mills children of six years were permitted to work. Under these conditions, the children of the working families received little education; in 1830 a Philadelphia labor paper complained that in some of the factories not one sixth of the boys and girls could read and write.

As a protest against these conditions, labor unions were organized whose members sought to interest the political parties in their grievances. By strikes and by political action, a ten-hour day was secured for public work in some of the cities. President Van Buren, in 1840, directed that the working day in the navy yards be reduced to ten hours. Private employers gradually conformed to the change.

Among other demands of the workingmen, granted in the years following, were a general system of education in which the laborers' children might share, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and the free distribution of lands to actual settlers.

291. The Right To Vote Is Extended. — One reason for the growing political importance of workingmen was the general adoption of manhood suffrage in the North. In colonial times it was usual to require a property qualification for voting and office-holding. This requirement continued in the eastern states for some years after the Revolution. In the West, however, there was a more democratic spirit, and the new states generally attached no property qualification to the right to vote. This western view in time affected the older states, and Maryland adopted manhood suffrage in 1810, Connecticut in 1818, New York in 1826, and at the same time other states reduced the property qualification.

Other political restrictions were removed; Jews and Catholics were permitted to hold office, and church disestablishment took place in Connecticut and Massachusetts.

292. Dorr's Rebellion. — Manhood suffrage was secured in Rhode Island only after a bitter conflict. The state constitution was the old colonial charter of Charles II, which limited the vote to owners of real estate and their eldest sons. These men refused to extend the franchise, and a popular uprising against their control of affairs took place. Those who could vote organized a convention and set up a state constitution of their own; they elected a governor, Thomas W. Dorr, and a legislature, and for a few weeks in 1842 attempted to run the affairs of the state of Rhode Island. The regular government protested and made arrangements to assert its authority by military force.

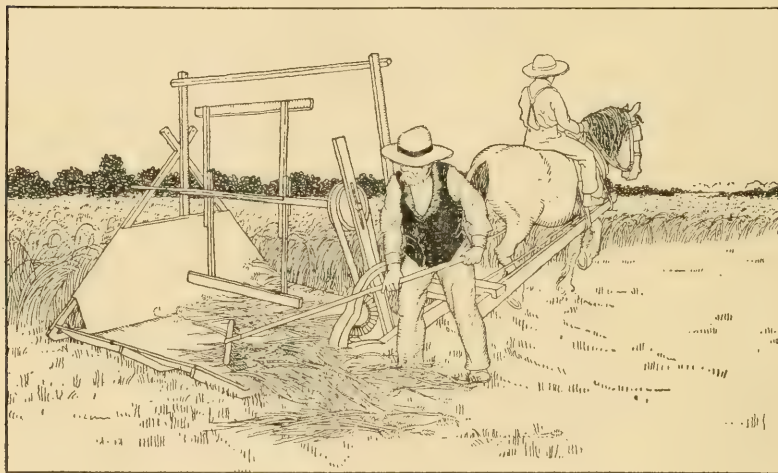
Dorr was convicted of treason and sentenced to life imprisonment, but was released in 1845. The movement which he directed, however, made a powerful impression on the land-owners of Rhode Island. They revised their constitution (1842) and granted manhood suffrage to native Americans. Forty years later it was extended to naturalized citizens.

293. The Homestead Act Develops the West. — In 1820 the price of government land was reduced from two dollars to a dollar and a quarter an acre, and the purchaser could buy as small a tract as eighty acres. Thus for a hundred dollars a man could secure title to a small farm. Ten years later the first "preëmption act" was passed. Its purpose was to protect actual settlers, or "squatters," who entered the new regions of the West before the lands were surveyed. Speculators were in the habit of buying up the best lands as these were surveyed. They often dispossessed pioneers who had brought some of the land under cultivation, and deprived them in many instances of the value of their improvements. Under the preëmption act the settler had the first right to buy, at the established price, the land on which he settled.

Later, by the passage of the Homestead Act (1862), it was made even easier for the poor man to get a farm. By this act 160 acres were given free to the actual settler on condition of five years' residence. This act was urged by Westerners, who wanted their communities to grow rapidly, and by workingmen in the East, who saw in free lands a chance to escape from eastern factory conditions.

294. The McCormick Reaper. — The progress of invention, as well as the generous land policy of the government, hastened the occupation of western lands.

In 1831 Cyrus Hall McCormick, a Virginia farmer, invented a reaper which would cut as much grain in a day as six men working with scythes. The new machine made its way slowly at first, but in 1847 McCormick set up in Chicago a factory from which he could readily supply the need of the farmers in the new prairie region, where there was a great dearth of laborers and labor-saving machinery was



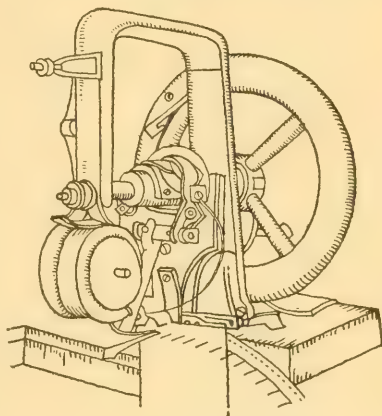
McCORMICK'S REAPER

sure to be appreciated. The reaper soon came into general use, and in 1858 it was estimated that the invention was worth fifty-five million dollars a year to the people of the United States. In 1872 a self-binder was added to the reaper and permitted another vast saving of labor.

Threshing machines came into general use by 1840, thus doing away with the old hand-flail. The invention of cultivators, hay-rakes, seed-drills, and other implements permitted the use of horse power in the place of hand labor

and greatly increased the amount of land that could be tilled by the individual farmer.

295. The Sewing Machine. — In many other lines of industry notable mechanical improvements were made during these years. One of the most important was the invention of the sewing machine, brought out in 1846 by Elias Howe, a Boston mechanic. It did much to lighten the labor of women in the home and also greatly reduced the cost of clothing. Isaac Singer, one of the early manufacturers of sewing machines, introduced the plan of selling by installments and so placed this valuable labor-saving device within the reach of persons of small means. In 1860 over forty-thousand machines were sold annually. The sewing machine was soon applied to the manufacture of shoes, thereby permitting a reduction of the labor cost of a pair of machine-made shoes to less than one tenth of a hand-sewn pair.

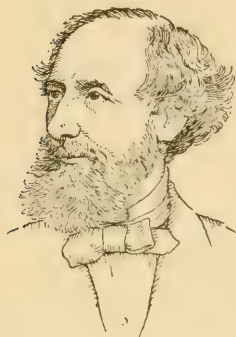


HOWE'S SEWING MACHINE

296. The Electric Telegraph. — In 1844 Samuel F. B. Morse, a New York scientist, prevailed upon Congress to appropriate \$30,000 for the building of a telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore. Morse had long been interested in the possibility of sending messages by electric wire, and as early as 1835 had discovered a means of doing so, but it took him many years to convince the public of the value of his discovery. When the new line was completed,

Morse's first message successfully transmitted from the Capitol at Washington was: "What hath God wrought."

The general public now became interested in the new means of communication, and in a few years the chief cities of the East were linked by electric telegraph lines, 50,000 miles of telegraph being in operation by 1860. In 1861 a line was extended to San Francisco.



CYRUS FIELD

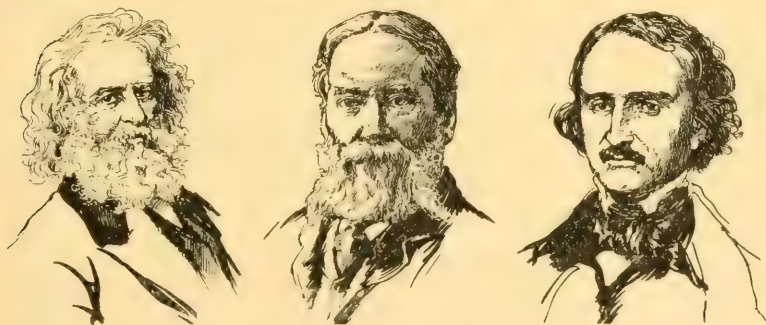
The project of connecting America and Europe by an ocean telegraph was taken up by Cyrus Field, and in 1858 a cable was laid. Messages were transmitted for a few weeks, when the cable parted. It was not until 1866 that a transatlantic service was permanently established.

297. Ocean Steamships. — As we have read (Sec. 225), a vessel propelled partly by steam power crossed the Atlantic in 1819, but it was not until 1838 that the voyage was made with steam power alone. In that year two English steamships crossed the Atlantic, the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, the latter making the passage from Bristol to New York in fifteen days. In 1840 the Cunard Line began the operation of a regular steamship service between Liverpool and New York. About this time iron ships began to displace those of wood construction, thus taking away from the United States the great advantages it had in the possession of cheap and abundant materials for ship-building.

298. Newspapers and Books. — Improvements in the printing-press and cheaper methods of paper-making permitted publishers to reduce the cost of newspapers and greatly increase their circulation and their influence upon

public opinion. The *New York Sun* (1833) and the *Herald* (1835) were the first daily newspapers in America to be sold for one cent. The utilization of the electric telegraph made it possible for these and other papers to gather the news of the world with a rapidity and completeness before unknown. In 1841 Horace Greeley founded the *New York Tribune*. Under his direction it continued for thirty years to be the most powerful journal in America. Weekly and monthly periodicals were established in large numbers, and their growth kept pace with that of the daily press.

In the field of literature a number of notable names appeared. Edgar Allan Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorne



LONGFELLOW, LOWELL, AND POE

won renown as writers of fiction; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, in his *Evangeline* (1847) and *Miles Standish* (1858), secured for himself a permanent place among American poets; James Russell Lowell in his *Biglow Papers* denounced in rhyme those who had brought on the Mexican War and ridiculed the Southern leaders. John Greenleaf Whittier was another poet who took part in the political discussion of the time. Oliver Wendell Holmes brought out in 1857 his genial *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, which

gave him a national reputation; and George Bancroft was busily engaged on his great *History of the United States*, which he began to publish in 1834 and finished forty years later.

299. Education. — Great interest was shown in the extension of educational facilities. The generous gifts of land which the Federal government made for educational purposes materially aided the West in building schools, and the demands of the workingmen in the East promoted an interest in education in that region. The common schools were made more efficient, and scores of colleges were founded.

The great volume of Irish and German immigration between 1840 and 1860 led to a wide extension of Catholic schools. In earlier times denominational schools were often recognized as a part of the public school system and received a share of the school taxes, but the anti-Catholic movement which swept over the country with the coming of large numbers of Irish and German Catholics put a stop to this just arrangement. Desiring religious instruction for their children, the Catholics of the country undertook, often at great sacrifice, the maintenance of their own schools.

300. The Know-nothing Party. — The anti-Catholic movement became of political importance in 1852 soon after the organization of a society called "The Order of the Star-Spangled Banner," whose purpose was to bar foreigners and Catholics, native and foreign, from the privileges of citizenship. The organization was an oath-bound secret society, whose members soon became known as "Know-nothings" because their invariable answer was "I don't know" when questioned about the activities of their society.

As early as 1830 there was a movement to debar Irish immigrants from citizenship, and at times the movement

assumed the form of a violent attack on Catholic churches and schools. In 1834 a convent of the Ursuline nuns at Charlestown, Massachusetts, was burned. Ten years later two Catholic churches in Philadelphia were reduced to ashes, and a hostile mob compelled, for a brief period, the suspension of public worship in other Catholic churches of the city. Similar acts of violence took place in other cities of the country. The most violent outbreak occurred at the height of the Know-nothing movement. On "Bloody Monday," August 5, 1855, in Louisville, Kentucky, nearly one hundred Irish were killed and twenty houses burned, while the city authorities, dominated by the Know-nothings, looked calmly on.

In the elections of 1854 over a hundred congressmen owed their seats to Know-nothing influence, and several of the state administrations now came under the control of the party. For a time it was feared that the Know-nothings would sweep the country, but the movement was lost to view after 1856, when the slavery issue and the threat of disunion occupied the public mind.

301. The Mormons. — The rise of Mormonism, a religious movement of the time, is of interest because it led to the settlement of Utah. The founder of the Mormons was Joseph Smith, who asserted his discovery of certain golden plates upon which were engraved prophecies which he published at Palmyra, New York, in 1830, as the *Book of Mormon*. He later removed to Ohio, where his followers took the name of "Latter Day Saints." In 1840 Smith established a settlement at Nauvoo, Illinois, and it was here that the practice of polygamy was begun. The Mormon leader aroused the hostility of persons in the neighborhood, and in 1844 he was put in jail and then killed by a mob. His

followers, under the leadership of Brigham Young, crossed the plains in 1847 and established a Mormon settlement at Salt Lake City.

302. Relations With the Indians. — In 1834 Congress established the Indian Territory in the valley of the Arkansas as a home for various tribes of Indians who were to be removed from the region east of the Mississippi. During the years from 1830 to 1838 the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws of the South were compelled, in a great measure by force and fraud, to leave their old homes and cross the Mississippi. Some of these tribes had long been civilized and desired merely to remain peaceably on the lands which their people had cultivated for years. Their expulsion was an act of brutal aggression.

The Seminoles of Florida in 1833 signed a treaty to remove to the West, but a group under the leadership of Osceola, a half-breed, resisted the United States forces. A war, lasting until 1842, was required to secure the final removal of these Indians. Another Indian conflict of the period was the Black Hawk War of 1833 in western Illinois. Following a cruel campaign, the Sac and Fox Indians remaining in Illinois were driven beyond the Mississippi, and their leader, Black Hawk, was captured.

As a result no large group of Indians was left east of that river. From this time the government attempted to put the reservation system into operation. Under this system the government sought to regulate trade with the Indian tribes, to restrict the sale of alcoholic liquor among them, and to keep them quiet by a distribution of food and blankets.

303. Father de Smet's Work. — Attempts were made from the earliest times to bring the Christian faith to the Indians, and no group of men had greater success in this

missionary field than the Jesuit Fathers. In the period we are now studying, a Belgian Jesuit, Father Peter de Smet, proved himself a worthy successor of Allouez and Marquette. In 1840 De Smet set out from St. Louis in response to an invitation from Catholic Iroquois dwelling among the Flatheads and Nez Percés of the Rocky Mountains. These Iroquois had been converted to Christianity in their eastern home and had brought a knowledge of the Christian religion to the Rocky Mountain tribes. De Smet's first permanent mission in the far West was established in 1841 on the Bitter Root River in Montana. From the beginning his success as a missionary was extraordinary and he gained a remarkable ascendancy over his converts of the forest. He devoted the next thirty years to their interest, traveling nearly 180,000 miles in the course of his missionary journeys. In 1851 the Federal government requested his mediation at a general congress of Indians near Fort Laramie, and so great was his success on this occasion that he was repeatedly called upon in later years to bring peace between the Indians and whites. His most notable service was in 1868, when, alone, he penetrated the territory of the hostile Sioux and secured a treaty of peace from these Indians who had been on the warpath for years.

304. Temperance and Other Reforms. — The use of alcoholic liquors was general among all classes of society in the early years of the nineteenth century, and drunkenness was common. A growing protest against the abuse of intoxicants may be noted about 1825, and in the next few years a thousand or more total abstinence societies were formed. In later years the movement became associated with a demand for the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors; and in 1846, Maine, under the leadership of Neal

Dow, enacted the first state-wide prohibition law. The temperance movement received a powerful impetus from the visit to America from 1849 to 1852 of Father Theobald Mathew, the Irish temperance apostle. He visited the chief cities of the country and many smaller places, administering the pledge to 500,000 persons during his stay in this country.

In other fields of reform a forward movement is seen. Public hospitals for the care of the insane were established and likewise special schools for the deaf and blind. In the prisons efforts were made to separate youthful offenders from the more hardened criminals and to remedy to some extent the brutalizing conditions surrounding the jails and penitentiaries of the time.

305. American Interest in the Far East. — We shall bring to a close our brief study of the changes in American life during this period with a reference to the growth of American interest in the Pacific. Even before the acquisition of California, American missionaries and traders had become acquainted with Hawaii; and American commerce with China, though restricted to the single port of Canton, had become important. In 1844 a treaty was secured which gave Americans the right to reside and trade in five Chinese ports. The increasing trade with China made it desirable that American ships crossing the Pacific might have access to Japanese harbors as a refuge from storms and to take on supplies. In 1854 Commodore Matthew Perry visited Japan with an American fleet and induced the Japanese to open some of their ports to American commerce. The treaty which he obtained was the first ever made by Japan with a western power, and from it dates the beginning of Japan's development into one of the great nations of the world.

Vocabulary

disestablishment	polygamy
equitable	preëmption
manhood suffrage	restrictions

Questions

1. In what year was your state admitted to the Union?
2. Can you compare favorably factory conditions to-day with those of 1840? Why?
3. What seems to you the worst feature of factory conditions at that time?
4. How long has manhood suffrage prevailed in your state?
5. Has your state still any land coming under the Homestead Laws?
6. Why was there no feeling against the use of machinery on farms in the West?
7. Make a list of men made famous by great inventions.
8. What is the real value of a newspaper? How can a newspaper's power be abused?
9. How many of the books mentioned in the text have you read?
10. How did the Know-nothing Party violate one of the great principles of our democracy?
11. What responsibility have we toward the Indians? Do you think we have treated them fairly? Have you ever visited an Indian reservation?
12. How did Father de Smet try to fulfill his share of the white man's duty to the Indians?
13. Has the awakening of the Far East proved a good thing for the United States?

CHAPTER XIX

THE CONTEST OVER SLAVERY

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF TAYLOR, FILLMORE, PIERCE, AND BUCHANAN

306. The Slavery Question in a New Form; the Wilmot Proviso. — After the Mexican War the extension of slavery became the chief political question of the country, a question which was to be answered only by an appeal to arms. We have already seen that a vigorous movement for the abolition of slavery had developed during Jackson's presidency. Through the medium of anti-slavery societies, of newspapers and public meetings, it gained many converts. At the same time many thousands of persons who were convinced that slavery was an evil institution refused to join in the abolition movement and contented themselves with a protest against the extension of slavery into new territory. They tried hard to prevent the annexation of Texas and declared that if annexation were carried, the North would have a right to secede from the Union. Texas was annexed in spite of their protests, but the Mexican War, with its acquisition of California and New Mexico, soon gave them another opportunity to denounce the extension of slavery.

In the early months of the Mexican War, in 1846, a bill came before the lower House of Congress appropriating \$2,000,000 to compensate Mexico for the lands she was about

to lose. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania secured an amendment to the bill providing that none of the territory acquired as a result of the war should be open to slavery. Before the matter came to a vote in the Senate, Congress adjourned. The next year the "Wilmot Proviso" was again accepted by the House but rejected by the Senate, where the slave interests were still powerful.

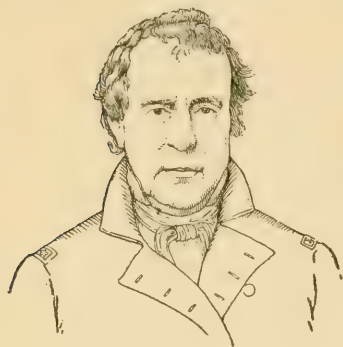
The South was stirred to great excitement by this attempt to keep slavery out of the new lands in the West, and threats were freely made that the proviso would be resisted even to the point of war. Some who wished to prevent a crisis proposed that the question of slavery in the new regions be left to the men who should settle there. According to this view, when new states were set up their inhabitants ought to be free to vote upon slavery as upon other questions of public importance. This doctrine later became associated with the name of Stephen A. Douglas, and was known as "squatter sovereignty," or "popular sovereignty."



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

307. The Free Soil Party. — As the elections of 1848 approached, excitement over the Wilmot Proviso continued, but neither of the great parties was willing to take a stand against the extension of slavery. The Whigs nominated General Zachary Taylor, hero of the Mexican War, which had just come to a close. He was a Louisiana slave-holder and acceptable to the South. For the vice-presidency the Whigs named Millard Fillmore of New York. The Democrats found their candidate in Lewis Cass of Michigan,

who accepted the doctrines of "squatter sovereignty," — a compromise which at the time appealed to many in the South.



ZACHARY TAYLOR

Since neither of the old parties would take a stand squarely on the Wilmot Proviso, the anti-slavery forces undertook to name a candidate of their own, pledged to fight the extension of slavery. At a convention in Buffalo they founded the Free Soil Party and chose ex-President Van Buren as their standard-bearer. The New York friends of Van Buren,

who had hoped to see him nominated by the Democrats, had been greatly displeased by the naming of Cass and now went over in great numbers to the Free Soil Party. As a result the Democrats lost New York and General Taylor was elected President.

308. The Compromise of 1850. — In spite of the attempt of Whigs and Democrats to ignore the slavery question, the agitation continued. Taylor was not long seated in the presidential chair when the question thrust itself upon the attention of Congress. The rush of gold-seekers to California led to a demand for a state government there, while the Mormons in Utah and Americans and Mexicans in New Mexico were asking for territorial governments. Under these conditions the question of slavery in the lands acquired from Mexico had to be answered.

The Californians adopted a "free state" constitution, and President Taylor urged Congress to accept it; but the anger of the South was rising and vigorous protests were

made against the plan. A Southern member of Congress, Toombs, of Georgia, avowed "before this House and the country, and in the presence of the living God, that if by your legislation you seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico . . . I am for disunion." His speech expressed the views of many in the South, where at the end of 1849 and in the following year there was much talk of secession. At the same time the North was aroused, and every legislature in that region, except one, demanded the exclusion of slavery in the territories.

Henry Clay, who had returned to the Senate after an absence of eight years, came forward in January, 1850, offering a compromise which he hoped would remove the slavery dispute from national politics. He proposed :

1. The admission of California as a free state.
2. The admission of Utah and New Mexico, with or without slavery, as their constitution prescribed at the time of admission.
3. The payment of ten million dollars to Texas for her claim to a part of New Mexico.
4. The abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.
5. The passage of a Fugitive Slave Law which would satisfy the South.

The discussion of these proposals was the last in which figured those giants of debate, — Clay, Calhoun, and Webster. Calhoun opposed the compromise which, he said, could not



HENRY CLAY

save the Union. He demanded the extension of slavery to all the territory acquired from Mexico, and proposed an amendment to the Constitution providing for two presidents, one from each section, each with a veto over the other's acts. Webster supported Clay's proposals in a powerful speech, March 7, 1850. "I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union," he declared in solemn tones; and it is possible that his plea and others for the compromise did save the Union. Had the compromise been defeated, secession might have followed with-



MILLARD FILLMORE

out war, for many in the North were willing to "let the erring sisters depart in peace."

The death of Calhoun in April removed a great obstacle to compromise. In July President Taylor died suddenly, thus bringing to the presidency Millard Fillmore, a close friend of Clay and of the compromise. In the next few months, in a series of acts, Congress accepted the proposals of Clay, and throughout the country there was a great rejoicing that the crisis was over.

309. The Election of 1852. — Many hoped the slavery question would no longer engage the attention of the nation; and, in the presidential campaign of 1852, both the leading parties indorsed "the Compromise of 1850." The Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott, hoping again to win with



FRANKLIN PIERCE

a Mexican War hero. But the Southern Whigs distrusted Scott, whom they charged with anti-slavery leanings. They voted in such large numbers for Franklin Pierce, the democratic candidate, that he was easily elected.

310. Fugitive Slaves; Uncle Tom's Cabin. — There was one part of the compromise which made it difficult for men to forget the slavery question. Clay's chief concession to the South was a rigorous Fugitive Slave Law. Under that law Southern slave-owners made vigorous efforts to bring back into slavery negroes who had escaped to the North. Opponents of slavery in many sections interfered with the business of the "negro-hunters," and rescued hundreds of former slaves from the officers who pursued them; while the "Underground Railroad" became more active than ever in promoting the escape of men and women from bondage.

The sympathy of the North for the negro, and its anger over the Fugitive Slave Act, were intensified by the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. The author, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, pictured vividly the possible horrors of the slavery system; and her book, which was published in edition after edition, did much to fix in the minds of Northern people a hatred of negro slavery. The influence of the book continued to grow until the Civil War.

311. The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854). — In spite of the conflict aroused over the Fugitive Slave Law, sectional bitterness seemed to be dying down, when the slavery question was suddenly reopened in a new quarter. Early in 1854 Senator Douglas of Illinois reported a bill for the establishment of territorial governments in Kansas and Nebraska, and proposed that the settlers should determine whether the new territories were to be admitted into the

Union as free or slave states. The anger of the anti-slavery people was at once aroused, for the proposed territories were within the region dedicated to freedom by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Though the bill was forced through Congress and became a law, it was fought bitterly at every step and once during the debate in the House of Representatives bloodshed was with difficulty avoided.

Outside of Congress the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act stirred up a whirlwind of opposition, and nearly every Northern Congressman who voted for it lost his seat at the elections that fall. The Missouri Compromise, which had been regarded in the



KANSAS-NEBRASKA TERRITORY

North as a permanent settlement, was now suddenly destroyed. The conflict which it was thought had been closed by Clay in 1850 was reopened; this time to be fought to the death.

312. The Struggle for Kansas. — As the status of slavery in Kansas was to be determined by the people of that territory, men from both free and slave states poured in there to take part in the voting. Slave-holders from the neighboring state of Missouri sent armed bands across the line, while the "Emigrant Aid Society" assisted settlers from New England to make their home in Kansas.

The Missouri men, largely by fraud (they brought in 5000 "voters" on election day), set up a territorial government.

The anti-slavery people, who had settled chiefly along the Kansas River, refused to recognize the government and organized one of their own. An armed conflict which broke out between the factions was begun by the "Border Ruffians," as the Missourians were called. John Brown, a fanatical New Englander, retaliated with a murderous attack on the settlements of the slavery party. Guerrilla warfare filled the summer months of 1856.

313. Formation of the Republican Party. — In 1854, while the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was still before Congress, steps were taken to establish a new political party to fight the extension of slavery. In that year the movement had its chief strength in Wisconsin and Michigan, though it was taken up elsewhere and elected forty Congressmen. By the end of 1855 the Republican Party, as it came to be called, was established throughout the free states. It was frankly a sectional party, for it made no pretense to strength in the Southern states. At the same time the Democratic Party was becoming a sectional and pro-slavery party. President Pierce had made up his Cabinet chiefly of pro-slavery Democrats and had strongly favored the pro-slavery attempt to secure control of Kansas. As a result anti-slavery Democrats in the North left their party in great numbers and went over to the Republicans.

The Republican Party held its first national convention in 1856 and nominated for the presidency John C. Fremont, a former Democrat of strong anti-slavery sentiments. The Democratic choice fell upon James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. The condition of "Bleeding Kansas" was the chief issue, and the Democrats narrowly escaped defeat, all but four Northern states voting for Fremont. During the campaign it was freely predicted that Republican success

would be followed by the secession of the slave states, a Southern Senator declaring that the election of Fremont would mean "immediate, absolute, eternal separation."



JAMES BUCHANAN

314. The Dred Scott Decision (1857). — President Buchanan had scarcely taken up the duties of his office when the Supreme Court of the United States made a decision which further embittered the quarrel over the extension of slavery. Dred Scott, a negro slave, had been taken by his master to Minnesota and later carried back to Missouri

where, after some years, he sued for his freedom on the ground that residence in Minnesota, a region in which slavery was forbidden by the Missouri Compromise, had enfranchised him. In passing on the case the Supreme Court, led by the Chief Justice, Roger B. Taney, declared that Congress had no legal power to forbid slavery in the territories. According to this view the Missouri Compromise had been unconstitutional from the beginning; slave-owners were within their rights in taking their "property" into any of the territories, and the Republican Party, in opposing the extension of slavery, was carrying on an illegal agitation.

In their anger over the decision, many of the extreme anti-slavery men talked of secession from a Union which tolerated the kind of law laid down by the Supreme Court. But most of the men opposed to the extension of slavery adopted the view set forth by Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, when during the course of a debate with Senator Douglas he said: "We think the decision erroneous. We know that

the Court has often overruled its own decisions; and we shall do what we can to have it overrule this one."

315. A Schism in the Democratic Party. — Before the close of 1857 an event occurred which brought the country a step nearer disunion and civil war. The disturbances of the year before in Kansas had come to an end; but a pro-slavery convention, which met at Lecompton in that territory, had formulated a constitution which it was trying to force on the people of Kansas without submitting it to popular approval. In this attempt the slavery interests had the aid of President Buchanan, who urged Congress to accept the Lecompton Constitution and admit Kansas. Senator Douglas, the leading Northern Democrat, refused to follow the President's recommendation and declared the action of the pro-slavery interests "a trick, a fraud upon the rights of the people." The Lecompton Constitution was defeated and Kansas waited for admission until 1861 when, after some of the Southern states had seceded, it came in as a free state.

The action of Senator Douglas brought upon him the enmity of President Buchanan and the Democratic leaders of the South; and the party press in that section denounced him as a "deserter," "renegade," and "traitor." The schism in the Democratic ranks encouraged their opponents, who now began to have hopes of electing a Republican President in 1860.

316. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates (1858). — The division in the Democratic ranks was made more manifest during the political campaign of 1858, when Douglas was seeking reelection as Senator from Illinois. Abraham Lincoln, his opponent, challenged him to a discussion of the issues of the day and the two met in a series of debates which

proved to be the most important in American history. Under the keen questioning of Lincoln, Douglas was forced to choose between the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision



ONE OF THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

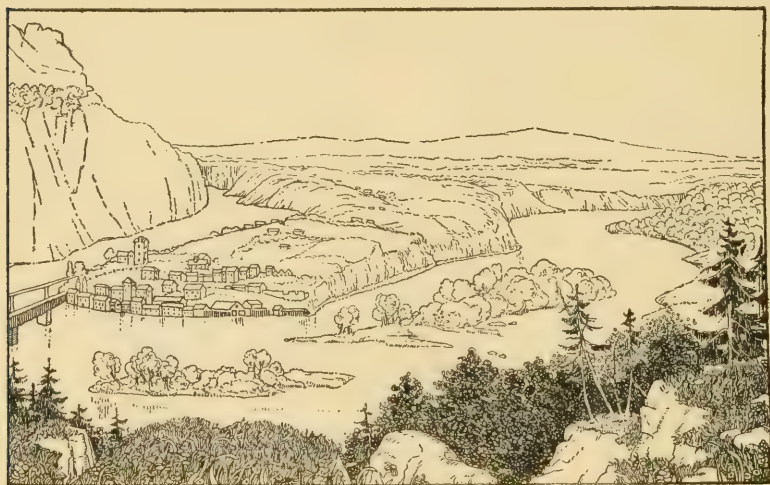
and “squatter sovereignty,” which he had upheld for many years. If the Supreme Court was right, Congress must protect slavery in the territories. How then, Lincoln asked, can the settlers lawfully abolish slavery in any territory? The question was an awkward one for Douglas

to answer. If he failed to support the Dred Scott decision, he would lose Southern support for the presidency, towards which his thoughts had turned. If he gave up squatter sovereignty, which was strongly held in Illinois, he would likely fail of election to the Senate. In his reply Douglas declared that in spite of the Court's decision, the people of a territory could by "unfriendly legislation" make slavery impossible. If that were so, the Dred Scott decision was a barren victory for the South, and the Southern leaders were quick to denounce Douglas as a "demagogue who promised one thing in Congress and another in Illinois." Besides widening the breach in the Democratic ranks, the debate brought Abraham Lincoln to the notice of the country.

317. "An Irrepressible Conflict." — The dozen years of impassioned debate over the slavery question, begun with the Wilmot Proviso, had led the sections to a point where each feared and mistrusted the purposes of the other. The bonds that made for unity were weakening; the great Protestant denominations, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, were separating into northern and southern groups, a division of sentiment that half a century has not healed. The Whig Party almost ceased to exist, and the other great political bond of union, the Democratic Party, was threatened with disruption. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered that many regarded a crisis as near. Lincoln, beginning his campaign against Douglas, put the thought of many in his famous declaration: "'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." And Senator Seward of New York a few months later clothed the same thought in a striking phrase

when he said : “ It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become entirely a slave-holding nation or entirely a free-labor nation.” Though Lincoln and Seward in these speeches were far ahead of public opinion in the North, words of this kind from two well-known Republican leaders deepened the conviction of the South that the Republican Party aimed at the abolition of slavery.

318. John Brown’s Raid (1859). — Amid the growing bitterness of the slavery discussion, the country was startled,



HARPER'S FERRY

in the fall of 1859, by an attempt to start a slave insurrection in Virginia. John Brown, who had already taken part in the bloody work in Kansas, undertook to lead the insurrection and on October 16, to secure arms for his project, seized the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry on the Potomac,

about fifty miles above Washington. Virginia militia and United States troops soon overpowered Brown and killed a number of his followers, including two of his sons. The widespread sympathy expressed in the North when he was executed six weeks later confirmed the South in its belief that no compromise was possible. The governor of Virginia laid in a supply of guns and asked his state to strengthen its militia. His example was followed by the authorities in other Southern states.

319. The Election of Lincoln. — As the contest for the presidency came on in 1860, the country was in a very bad temper. In the preceding winter Crawford, a representative from Georgia, had told Congress that it was folly to talk of a compromise on slavery. "I have this to say," he exclaimed, "and I speak the sentiment of every Democrat on this floor from the state of Georgia: We will never submit to the inauguration of a black Republican president."

The Republicans, in their convention at Chicago, failing to agree upon any of the more prominent leaders of the party, turned to Abraham Lincoln as their candidate. The Southern Democrats would not follow Douglas and the party split into two factions: the Southerners nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, while the Northern Democrats remained loyal to Douglas. A fourth party, the Constitutional Unionists, made up of old-time Whigs and Know-nothings, named John Bell of Tennessee for the presidency.

With disunion in the Democratic ranks, Lincoln carried every Northern state with the exception of three votes in New Jersey, and was elected.

320. Secession of South Carolina. — South Carolina was the first state to make good the threat that the South would not remain in the Union with a Republican President.

December 20 a South Carolina convention declared that the union "between this state and the other states of North America is dissolved, and that the state of South Carolina has resumed her place among the nations of the world." In the next six weeks Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas followed the example of South Carolina.

321. The Confederacy Established. — Early in February, 1861, delegates from the seceded states, with the exception of Texas, met at Montgomery, Alabama, and drew up a Constitution for "the Confederate States of America." Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected President, and Alexander Stephens of Georgia, Vice-President.

Vocabulary

erroneous

rigorous

secession

irrepressible

schism

squatter

renegade

Questions

1. How did the Mexican War help to bring on the crisis of 1850?
2. Explain the doctrine of squatter sovereignty.
3. What provisions of Clay's compromise were concessions to the slave interests?
4. Give the circumstances which finally led to the acceptance of the compromise.
5. Have you read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*?
6. How was the Kansas-Nebraska Act a violation of the Missouri Compromise?
7. Give the date and purpose of the organization of the Republican Party.
8. What attitude does Lincoln express toward the Dred Scott decision?
9. What was the important national result of the Douglas-Lincoln debates in Illinois?
10. Why was the raid of John Brown significant?
11. Why was the election of Lincoln the signal for secession among the Southern States?

CHAPTER XX

THE CIVIL WAR

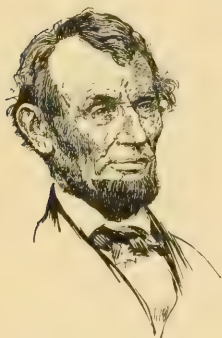
322. Efforts at Compromise. — President Buchanan took no active measures to prevent secession. It was his view that a state had no constitutional right to secede but, on the other hand, that the Federal government had no power to prevent secession. Perhaps most persons in the North held similar views. Horace Greeley, one of the most powerful of the anti-slavery leaders, said in his paper, the *New York Tribune*: "The South has as good a right to secede from the Union as the colonies had to secede from Great Britain." It seemed for a time as if secession might be accomplished peaceably.

Before war came, efforts were made to patch up the differences between the sections. At the request of Virginia, a Peace Convention at which delegates were present from twenty-one states sat during February in Washington, while the leaders of secession were organizing their government at Montgomery. In Congress proposals were made to yield to the demands of the South.

323. Lincoln Becomes President. — While these attempts to prevent disunion were going on, Lincoln arrived in Washington and on March 4, 1861, took the oath of office as President. Few persons had any confidence in his ability to guide the nation wisely in the crisis which had

arisen. By many he was looked upon as a country lawyer, whom political accident had raised to high position. His homely western ways were derided in the East, and New York society was greatly disturbed when he appeared in a theater in that city wearing black gloves. The difficulties which now faced him served to disclose to the nation the great qualities which he possessed.

In his inaugural address the President announced that he had neither the legal authority nor the desire to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed. With regard to secession he declared that no state, "on its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union," and he would therefore be compelled to take care "that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the states." There need be no bloodshed, he pointed out, unless it be forced upon the national government. He intended to use the power given him as President "to hold, occupy, and possess



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against the people anywhere."

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine," Lincoln told the South, "is the momentous issue of civil war."

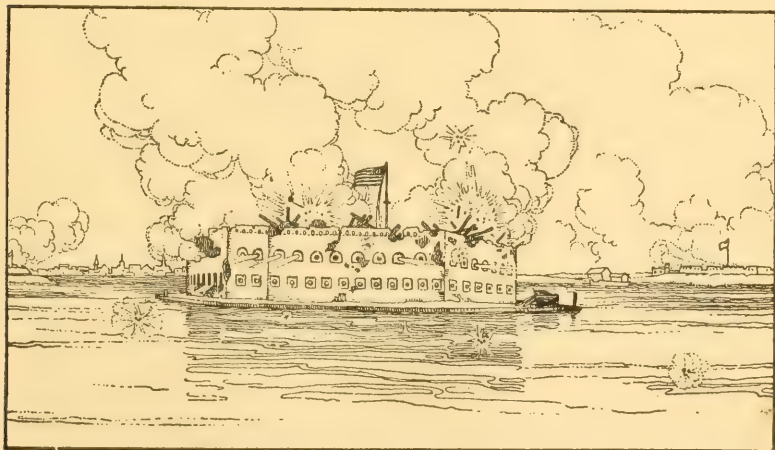
324. The Fall of Fort Sumter and Lincoln's Call to Arms.

—The South was unwilling to listen to Lincoln's words of peace. Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, had already predicted that there would be a long war, and,

within a few days after Lincoln's inauguration, Davis and his advisers were busily making provision for an army of 100,000 men. The states of the Confederacy, as they seceded, took possession wherever they could of the Federal forts and arsenals within their borders; and when Lincoln took up the duties of his office, only a few posts in the seceded region remained in possession of the United States Government. The most important of these was Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, held by a small garrison under the command of Major Robert Anderson. In accordance with the policy laid down in his inaugural address, President Lincoln determined to hold Fort Sumter and early in April dispatched supplies for the garrison. The Confederate Government, learning of his inten-



JEFFERSON DAVIS



THE ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER

tion, demanded the surrender of the place. Major Anderson offered to give up the fort in three days if he did not receive provisions; but the Confederates refused to wait and after a vigorous bombardment compelled him to surrender, on April 14, when much of the fort had been demolished.

The next day President Lincoln called out the militia of the various states to the number of 75,000 men. The North responded with enthusiasm and within ten weeks over 300,000 men were in camp. By the end of the year the number had risen to 660,000.

The attack on Fort Sumter was a fatal mistake on the part of the Confederacy. Lowell, writing in the summer of 1861, declared that the first gun at Sumter "brought the free states to their feet as one man."

325. Other States Secede. — In the South, also, enthusiasm ran high; and, before the end of June, a second group of states, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Arkansas, seceded from the Union. Three other slave states, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, were divided in sentiment and probably were prevented from seceding by the swift approach of Union armies.

The western counties of Virginia, in which there was strong Union sentiment, refused to secede and set up a government of their own. The Federal authorities supported this movement and in 1863 received West Virginia into the Union.

326. Comparison of the Opposing Forces. — Twenty-two states and part of another remained in the Union to bear the burden of war against the eleven states of the Confederacy. Of the thirty-one and a half million people in the country the Confederacy had fewer than nine million, while the Union held nearly twenty-three million. The

contest was made more unequal from a military standpoint by the fact that the population of the Confederacy included over three and a half million negroes. The Union had therefore of white men available for military service more than four times as many as the Confederacy.

Another important advantage of the North was found in its manufactures. It possessed the material equipment and mechanical skill to supply itself with the munitions of war. The South, given over chiefly to the raising of cotton, lacked both factories and skilled workers at the beginning of the struggle. This lack was seen especially in the building of ships, for which the South was largely dependent upon foreign yards. Had the Confederacy been able to create a navy and dispute the control of the sea, it might have continued to sell its great cotton crop abroad and thus secure money and other badly needed resources. As it was, the enthusiasm of the Southern people and their high military capacity could not overcome the enormous advantages of the North in men and material wealth.

327. The Eastern Field of War. — Richmond, which in June, 1861, became the capital of the Confederate States, lies on the James River, about one hundred miles south of Washington on the Potomac. The region between the two capitals is hemmed in on the east by Chesapeake Bay and on the west by the Blue Ridge Mountains. Because of the anxiety of each side to protect its own capital and threaten that of the enemy, there was fighting in this region from the beginning to the end of the war.

The protection of Washington was among the first cares of President Lincoln when he called for soldiers. It was feared that the Confederate troops who had attacked Fort Sumter would be hastened to Virginia to threaten the

capital; and besides, in the early months of the war, there was danger that Maryland, which incloses the District of Columbia on three sides, would secede and cut off the capital from the North. The Sixth Massachusetts regiment reached Washington April 19, after some of its companies had fought their way through a secessionist mob at Baltimore. Governor Andrew of Massachusetts, with excellent foresight, had been drilling the state militia for several months and was able to put 5000 troops at the President's disposal at once. A few days later the Sixty-ninth New York Regiment, composed of Irishmen, arrived. It is worthy of note that immigrants volunteered in large numbers, the Irish from the eastern cities and the Germans from the west.

328. The Battle of Bull Run. — Washington soon became a great camp and the immediate danger of attack passed. Congress was called in special session, July 4, and authorized the enrollment of 500,000 men for the duration of the war. The cry of "On to Richmond" was heard, and much impatience was aroused at the inactivity of the Federal forces. Major-General Winfield Scott, hero of two wars, in nominal command of the troops, was too old for active service; and to General Irvin McDowell was left the task of turning the raw recruits around Washington into an efficient army. Both Scott and McDowell wanted time to drill their soldiers, but the public demanded action. Towards the middle of July plans were made for an attack on the Confederate forces which, under the command of General Beauregard, lay about thirty-five miles from Washington between Manassas Junction and Bull Run, a small tributary of the Potomac.

On the morning of July 21 the Union forces crossed



BATTLE OF BULL RUN

Bull Run and offered battle to the enemy. The opposing forces were fairly equal in point of numbers and both were largely composed of green, inexperienced troops. In the early fighting the Union army had the advantage and would have held the field but for the splendid stand of a Confederate brigade, led by the man who that day won the title of "Stonewall Jackson." In the middle of the afternoon timely reënforcements reached the Confederate ranks and turned defeat into victory. The retreat of the Union army became a panic. Throughout the night a disorganized mob of soldiers made its way back to the defenses of Washington.

329. McClellan Placed in Command. — Bull Run gave confidence to the South; and, at the same time, it showed the North how serious was the task in which it was engaged. For Lincoln the chief problem was to find an efficient leader; and on the day after Bull Run he summoned to Washington General George B. McClellan, who was in command of troops on the Ohio, and who had been successful in a number of minor engagements in western Virginia. McClellan, a graduate of West Point, had seen service in the Mexican War and had been sent abroad in 1855 to observe the armies of Europe in action during the Crimean War. He went to work with great energy to drill and equip "the Army of the Potomac." By November, when he succeeded to the chief command through the retirement of General Scott, he had under him a splendid fighting force of 100,000 men. Though he was an excellent organizer and won the confidence of his troops to a remarkable degree, McClellan seems to have been too timid to be a successful soldier. The trouble with him was, said General Sheridan, that he "never went out to lick anybody, but always thought first

of keeping from getting licked." The end of the year came with McClellan still unwilling to move against the enemy.

THE WORK OF THE NAVY

330. The Blockade of the Southern Ports. — Five days after the fall of Fort Sumter President Lincoln had issued a proclamation declaring a blockade of the ports of the seceding states, and steps were at once taken to make the blockade effective. To control the coastline of the Confederacy, which was over 3000 miles in length and contained nearly two hundred harbors, the United States had fewer than a hundred ships. Fully one half of these were sailing vessels and many were in foreign waters. But the navy yards were set to work on new ships, and merchant vessels were bought and transformed into fighting craft, so that in a few months the blockade became a reality. Exports of cotton from the South, which in 1860 amounted to nearly \$200,000,000, fell in 1862 to \$4,000,000.

331. The Trent Affair. — The activity of the new navy came near involving the country in war with Great Britain. Many influential Englishmen favored the Southern cause; and the Confederacy had hopes of securing from Great Britain recognition as an independent nation and even interference in the war on the Southern side. Its hopes were based on England's dependence on the South for its supply of raw cotton, a failure of which would injure important English business interests and threaten thousands of workmen with starvation.

To plead the cause of the Confederacy, James Mason was appointed commissioner to England, and with him went John Slidell to represent Confederate interests at the court

of Emperor Napoleon III in Paris. Running through the blockade with safety, the commissioners reached Havana, where they took passage for England in the British mail steamship *Trent*. On November 8, the day after leaving Havana, the *Trent* was stopped by an American gunboat commanded by Captain Wilkes, who, despite the protests of the British captain, forcibly removed Mason and Slidell.

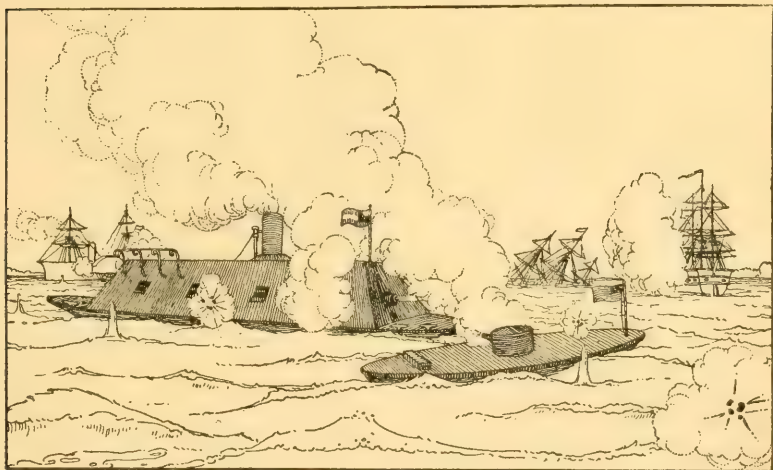
There was much anti-British feeling in America, and when the news of the arrest of the commissioners became known, there was great rejoicing throughout the North. The British government at once demanded the liberation of Mason and Slidell and an apology for their arrest; at the same time it made active naval preparations, sent eight thousand troops to Canada, and took other warlike steps. War seemed dangerously near when Lincoln announced that Captain Wilkes had acted without instructions and released the commissioners.

The country recognized that the seizure of Mason and Slidell was illegal, but it resented the over-hasty manner in which Great Britain had threatened war. The incident did much to stir up ill-feeling between the two countries, and another difficulty soon arose to make matters worse. In spite of the protests of Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister in London, the British authorities permitted the *Alabama*, and other vessels of war built in England for the Confederacy, to set sail in the summer of 1862 upon a career of destruction of Northern commerce. It was not until 1863, when Mr. Adams talked of war, that the British authorities put a stop to the use of their ports as Confederate naval bases.

To aid in keeping the friendship of foreign nations President Lincoln sent special representatives to Europe; promi-

nent among them were Thurlow Weed, who was sent to England, and Archbishop Hughes, who visited France and other European countries.

332. Ironclad Battleships Are Built. — In the early days of March, 1862, the Federal blockade of the Southern ports was suddenly threatened by the appearance of a new kind of fighting craft. When the Federal officers withdrew



BATTLE BETWEEN THE *Monitor* AND THE *Merrimac*

from the Norfolk navy yard in April, 1861, they sank several ships to prevent them from falling into the enemy's hands. The Confederates raised one of these—the *Merrimac*—equipped it with iron armor, and renamed it the *Virginia*. On March 8 the *Merrimac* steamed out of Norfolk harbor and attacked the Federal fleet stationed in Hampton Roads. In a few hours the ironclad put out of action five of the finest ships of the Federal navy and withdrew from the contest only when the tide was running low and she was

in danger of grounding. News of the disaster frightened the authorities at Washington. They feared that the *Merrimac* might come up the Potomac and destroy the capital. There was nothing to prevent it, in the opinion of Stanton, Secretary of War, from destroying the blockade, and even carrying war to every seaport of the North.

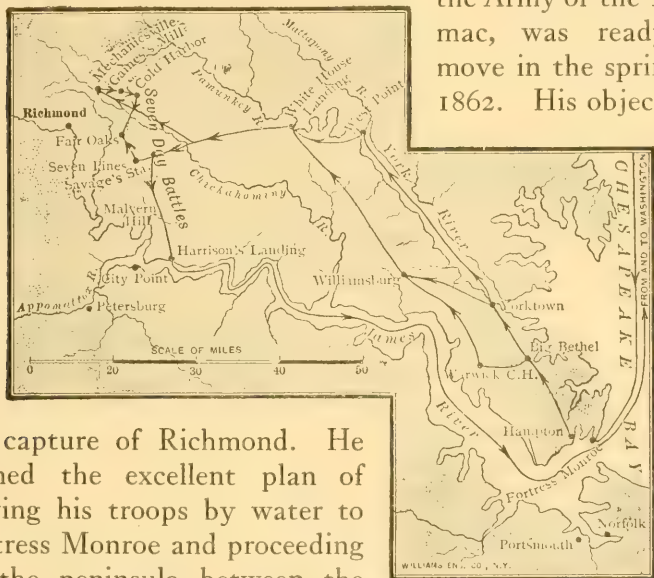
The Navy Department had turned its attention to the building of ironclads in the preceding October, and in a hundred days had constructed the *Monitor*, an armored vessel of 900 tons. Its designer, John Ericsson, had placed the deck just above the water's surface and had surmounted it with a revolving turret carrying two 11-inch guns. This strange craft, which was likened to "a cheese box on a raft," arrived during the night in Hampton Roads and the next day met the victorious *Merrimac* in a battle. Neither of the ironclads could greatly injure the other; but the *Merrimac* gave up the attempt to raise the blockade, and a few weeks later was destroyed to prevent her falling into McClellan's hands.

333. The Capture of New Orleans Strengthens the Blockade. — The Federal Navy continued its vigorous efforts to close the Southern ports to foreign commerce. By mid-summer, 1862, it controlled all the Atlantic ports of the Confederacy except Wilmington, North Carolina, and Charleston. It turned its attention to the Gulf ports also; and on April 25 took possession of New Orleans after Admiral Farragut, with great daring, had run his ships past the forts on the Mississippi below the city. New Orleans received a Federal garrison which retained control till the war was over. The ports which were not captured were closely guarded; the efficiency of the Federal Navy

in preventing the Confederacy from trading with the outside world was one of the chief causes of the defeat of the South.

THE WAR IN THE EAST IN 1862

334. McClellan's Peninsular Campaign. — General McClellan, who, as we have seen, insisted on drilling diligently the Army of the Potomac, was ready to move in the spring of 1862. His object was

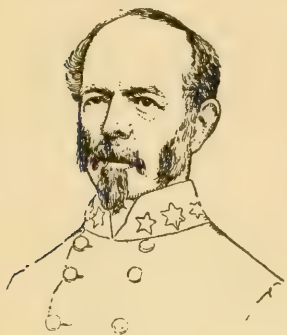


THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

the capture of Richmond. He formed the excellent plan of moving his troops by water to Fortress Monroe and proceeding up the peninsula between the James and the York rivers. By approaching Richmond from this side he would be able to get supplies readily by water and would have the coöperation of the fleet, which was able to ascend either river.

McClellan began his advance up the York early in April and by the middle of May was within ten miles of Richmond. Reënforcements, which he expected to march south from

Washington, were prevented from joining him by the activity of Stonewall Jackson. That daring leader, after defeating a Federal force May 25 at Winchester in the Shenandoah



GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON

Valley, suddenly appeared on the Potomac at the mouth of the Shenandoah about fifty miles above Washington. The capital appeared to be in danger, so the reënforcements intended for McClellan were retained for its protection. McClellan, however, still greatly outnumbered his opponent, General Joseph E. Johnston. An indecisive engagement was fought at Fair Oaks, May 31, during which Johnston was severely

wounded, and the command was given over to General Robert E. Lee, the greatest of the Confederate soldiers.

Nearly a month later, June 26, Lee made a determined assault on the Federal right wing. In two days of fighting he forced it from its position and cut off McClellan's communications with his base of supplies on the York. Instead of retreating down the peninsula as Lee expected, McClellan moved southward to establish a new base on the James. Lee followed him, but was held off in the hard fighting of June 29 and 30; and on July 1 was defeated with heavy loss at Malvern Hill, on the bank of the James. In the Seven Days' Battles, June 26 to July 1, McClellan lost nearly 16,000 men and Lee over 20,000. The Union commander was still desirous of pushing on to Richmond, which was only twenty miles away, but public opinion in the North forced the government to recall him and to abandon his plan of campaign.

335. The Second Battle of Bull Run. — Command of the troops about Washington was now given to General Pope, who, earlier in the year, had won some successes on the Mississippi. In July he moved southward across the Rappahannock and threatened to cut the railroad which served Richmond from the northwest. Lee at once turned his attention to the new danger, first to save the railroad and, secondly, to crush Pope before McClellan's troops could be brought from the Peninsula to join him. Pope fell back before the Confederate advance, but made a stand near the old Bull Run battlefield. Here he was attacked by Lee (August 29 and 30) and forced from the field with heavy losses. He retreated to the defenses of Washington, and early in September McClellan succeeded him in command of the army.

336. The Battle of Antietam. — After defeating Pope, Lee decided to invade Maryland, where he hoped to gain recruits for his army. At the same time he thought that a successful invasion of Federal territory would make a favorable impression on English and French opinion, and that it might lead to a recognition of the Confederacy as an independent power. The first week of September he crossed the Potomac about twenty-five miles above Washington, but in a few days found it necessary to send Stonewall Jackson to seize Harper's Ferry and open a way for supplies through the Shenandoah Valley. McClellan heard of the division of the enemy's army and undertook to prevent Lee and Jackson from reuniting their forces. But, as usual, he moved very leisurely, and Lee was able to take up a strong position west of Antietam Creek before McClellan arrived on September 15. The Union commander delayed his attack until the 17th, thus giving Jackson

time to return. In the fierce fighting of that day, the bloodiest of the whole war, Lee lost 11,000 men, but held his ground. McClellan's loss was slightly greater, but on account of his superior numbers he could better afford it. Neither side gained a decisive victory.

Two days after Antietam, Lee withdrew to Virginia, the over-cautious McClellan making no effort to hinder his crossing of the Potomac. The conduct of the campaign had again exhibited McClellan's lack of vigor, and early in November he was removed from command and General Burnside was given his place.

337. The Battle of Fredericksburg. — Burnside at once undertook to meet the demand which now arose for a new advance on Richmond. Instead of following the route taken by Pope earlier in the year and by McDowell the year before, he determined to take a more easterly route along the railroad which ran from the Potomac to Richmond by



GENERAL THOMAS FRANCIS
MEAGHER

way of Fredericksburg. He was delayed in crossing the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, thus permitting Lee to seize Marye's Heights and other hills about a mile and a half south of that town. Here the Confederate infantry intrenched itself behind a stone wall, while artillery was so placed as to dominate the whole plain over which the Union advance would have to be made. In spite of these obstacles Burnside, on December 13, ordered

the heights to be stormed. It was a hopeless task, but he did not change his purpose until six assaults had been made

and 8000 of his men lay dead before the Confederate lines. The heaviest loss fell upon the Irish brigade, commanded by Thomas Francis Meagher, which was almost wiped out of existence. Two days later Burnside withdrew his beaten army to the north bank of the Rappahannock, and the fighting in the eastern field of war was at an end for the year (1862). Early in the following year Burnside was relieved of his command and General Hooker succeeded him.

338. The Emancipation Proclamation. — September 23, a week after Antietam, Lincoln announced his intention to declare the slaves free in every state which would be in rebellion on January 1, 1863. The South paid no heed to his warning and on the day appointed, the President, as commander-in-chief of the military forces of the United States, proclaimed slavery abolished in the Confederacy, except in Tennessee and certain other regions held by the Federal troops. The proclamation pleased the growing party of abolitionists in the North, and had a good effect on opinion in Europe, where it was now seen that a Northern victory meant the destruction of slavery. On the other hand, the proclamation freed no slaves at the time, for it applied only to those regions still under Confederate control.

THE WAR IN THE WEST

339. Grant in Tennessee. — The first object of the Federal arms in the West, to save Kentucky and Missouri for the Union, was accomplished in January, 1862. By that time the Confederates had been driven out of Missouri and held only a small portion of Kentucky, their line extending from the Mississippi at Columbus, Kentucky, eastward to Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donel-

son on the Cumberland, thence northeast through Bowling Green.

The rivers of the West offered the readiest means of invading the Confederacy. For this reason General Grant, who was in command of the Federal troops along the lower Ohio, moved up the Tennessee with 17,000 men and a number of gunboats, and on February 6 took Fort Henry. The garrison, however, had fled to Fort Donelson, eleven miles away, whither Grant immediately followed with his army, while the gunboats went back to the Ohio and ascended the Cumberland to coöperate with him. On February 16 Fort Donelson was taken and with it about 15,000 men.



GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT

The success of Grant endangered the position of General Albert Sidney Johnston, who commanded the Confederate forces at Bowling Green, and the Southern leader retreated hurriedly to Corinth, Mississippi. His position at this point, on the railroad from Memphis to Chattanooga, permitted him to gather supplies and reënforcements. Grant continued his movement up the Tennessee and by the middle of March his main force reached Pittsburg Landing, less than twenty-five miles from Corinth.

Grant underestimated the energy of his opponent and carelessly disposed his troops along the river for a distance of eight miles. Early in the morning of April 6, the Confederates fell upon the Union troops and, after a hard day's fight, forced them to seek protection under the fire of their gunboats. Much of the day's conflict centered about

Shiloh Church, and on this account it is often called the battle of Shiloh. Grant ordered up reënforcements which Buell had brought from Kentucky, and the next morning renewed the contest, compelling the enemy to withdraw to Corinth. The Union army now received additions which brought its strength up to 100,000 men. In the face of this great force Corinth had to be abandoned at the end of May.

The Union advance across Tennessee placed a number of Confederate posts on the Mississippi in grave danger. Columbus was given up without a struggle, and New Madrid and Island No. 10 surrendered with about 7000 prisoners. Memphis fell June 6, and, as New Orleans had been taken in April, the only place of great importance on the Mississippi left to the Confederates was Vicksburg.

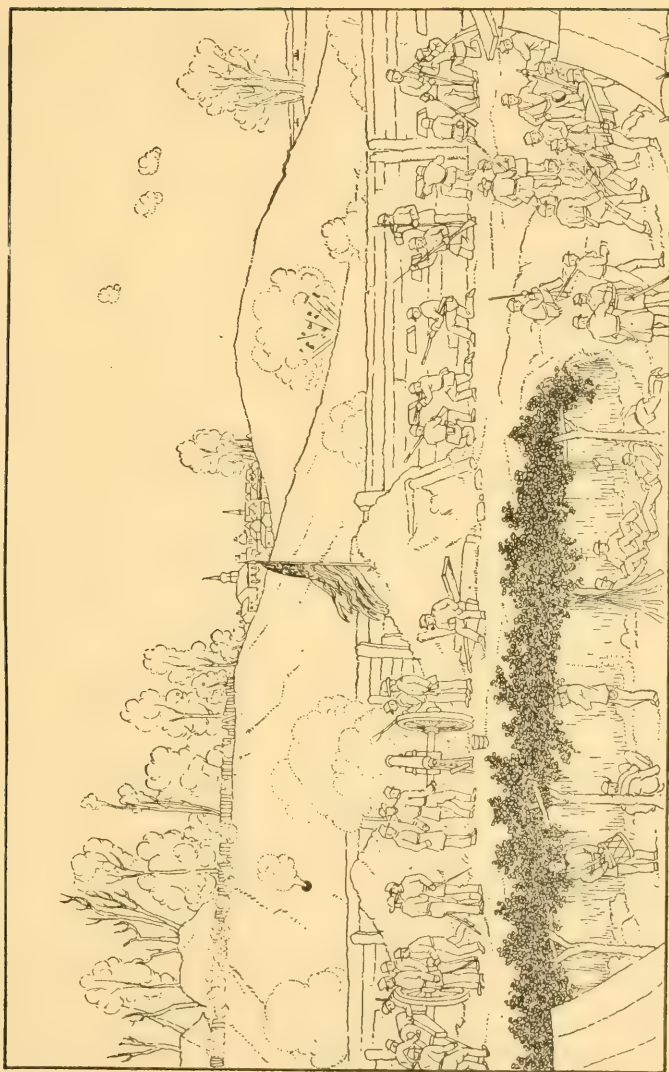
340. The Confederates Invade Kentucky. — To offset their losses in western Tennessee and on the Mississippi, the Confederates prepared to invade Kentucky, where they hoped to find a friendly population and secure recruits for their army. General Bragg was given command of 35,000 men, and on August 28 moved north from Chattanooga. General Buell was directed to stop Bragg's advance. The opposing forces met at Perryville in central Kentucky, October 8. Buell, with superior numbers, held the field and Bragg had to retire southward.

Buell failed to follow up his victory as vigorously as his superiors wished and was superseded by Rosecrans. On the last day of the year the new commander attacked Bragg in a furious battle near Murfreesboro. The struggle went against him, but he refused to retreat. Two days later when Bragg renewed the fight, Rosecrans continued to hold his ground and the Confederates withdrew once more to Chattanooga.

341. The Capture of Vicksburg. — During the winter of 1862–1863, Grant turned his attention to the capture of Vicksburg, the strongest post held by the Confederates on the Mississippi and a place of great importance. As long as Vicksburg remained in their hands, the Confederates could secure large supplies of food from the West and other necessities, which came from abroad by way of Mexico.

In approaching Vicksburg from the north the Union forces soon found that they could not take the place from that side. Grant therefore decided to move below the city and attack from that quarter. The army marched down the west bank of the Mississippi, and some miles below the city the troops were ferried across the river by the supply boats which had successfully run past the Vicksburg batteries at night. By May 1, 1863, Grant was ready with 43,000 men to make his advance on the Confederate stronghold. He now learned that General Joseph E. Johnston was approaching from the east with 15,000 men, intending to join General Pemberton, who had 40,000 men defending Vicksburg.

Grant boldly placed himself between the two Confederate armies and prevented their union. By May 18 he had forced Pemberton to seek cover within the fortifications of Vicksburg. Reënforcements soon arrived from the North, and the Union army settled down to a siege in which hunger was fighting powerfully on their side. The Confederate authorities could send no aid to Pemberton, who was compelled by a lack of provisions to surrender Vicksburg (July 4). Within a few days the Mississippi throughout its course was in Union hands. Grant's conduct of the campaign won him high praise, and he was soon given command of all the Federal armies of the West.



BATTLE OF VICKSBURG

342. The Confederates Driven from Tennessee. — We have seen that after the battle of Murfreesboro, General Bragg withdrew to Chattanooga. Rosecrans at the same time took up a position at Nashville, both commanders remaining inactive during the early months of 1863. But when Grant's success was assured at Vicksburg, Rosecrans set out to drive Bragg from Chattanooga. He approached the city from the south, to the surprise of Bragg, whose railroad communication with Atlanta was threatened by the unexpected movement. The Confederate leader left the city and took a stand on Chickamauga Creek twelve miles away, leaving the Union army between him and Chattanooga. The battle of Chickamauga raged throughout September 19 and 20. On the second day the Union line was badly shattered; and, but for the heroic stand of General Thomas, the retreat into Chattanooga would have been a complete disaster. Thomas won the title of "the Rock of Chickamauga" and was promoted to the command of the army in place of Rosecrans.

Bragg followed up his victory by fortifying Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, which commanded the only railroad by which the Union army in Chattanooga could get supplies. Provisions now had to be carried by wagon over sixty miles of poor roads, and danger of starvation appeared. Grant arrived in October to take charge of operations. Hooker brought 16,000 reinforcements from Virginia and Sherman added more than that number from Vicksburg. November 24 Grant began a vigorous assault of Bragg's position, and in "the battle above the clouds" Lookout Mountain was taken. The next day, in one of the most remarkable charges of the war, the Confederate batteries on Missionary Ridge were taken by Union troops,

who had climbed the heights without orders and even against the orders of their officers. Bragg now withdrew from Tennessee and went into winter quarters at Dalton, Georgia.

343. Sherman Takes Atlanta (September, 1864). — In the



spring of 1864, Grant, with the title of Lieutenant-General, was placed in command, under the President, of all the Union armies. He assumed direction of military affairs in Virginia, leaving Sherman in command at Chattanooga with

nearly 100,000 men to oppose the Confederate forces of 75,000 men under Joseph E. Johnston, who had succeeded Bragg. Sherman was an aggressive fighter and proposed to take Atlanta, which lay 110 miles south and east of Chattanooga, with which it was connected by a line of railroad. Atlanta was the chief center in the South for the manufacture of arms and other war material, and its capture would be a severe loss to the Confederacy.

Sherman, beginning his advance early in May, marched past the enemy at Dalton, Georgia, threatened to cut the railroad in his rear, and compelled him to fall back. Similar tactics, frequently repeated, brought Sherman within six miles of Atlanta on July 9. Several minor engagements had taken place, the most important that at Kenesaw Mountain, which cost Sherman 3000 men and his opponent 800. Altogether the Federal loss in the two months' campaign was nearly 17,000 as against 14,500 for the Confederates.



GENERAL SHERMAN

Public opinion in the South demanded the removal of Johnston from his command, and on July 17 the task of opposing Sherman was given into the hands of General J. B. Hood. Before the end of the month three battles were fought, in which each side lost about 10,000 men. Unable to take Atlanta by assault, Sherman spent the month of August in an attempt to surround it and reduce it by a siege. Before he could complete his attempt, Hood left the city, which the Union forces entered on September 3.

344. The Defeat of Hood at Nashville. — The Confederate commander now tried to make Sherman fall back by threatening the railroad behind him, as Sherman had done with Johnston. The superior resources of the North prevented the success of Hood's plan, for a new army of more than 50,000 men under Thomas, "the Rock of Chickamauga," was quickly collected at Nashville. When Hood appeared before that city, his numbers had been reduced to 23,000, and in two days' fighting, December 15 and 16, his strength was broken and fewer than 15,000 of his men escaped from the field. This defeat shattered the power of the Confederacy in the West.

345. Sherman's March to the Sea. — Sherman, meanwhile, had secured from Grant permission to march across



SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA

Georgia to the sea. With 60,000 seasoned veterans he set out from Atlanta, November 15. His troops swept over a region sixty miles in width and three hundred sixty miles

in length, meeting with no serious opposition and showing, as Sherman had intended, how near to exhaustion the Confederacy had' come. The soldiers not only lived upon the country, but destroyed an enormous amount of property which was of no use to them. The "waste and destruction" was estimated by Sherman himself at \$80,000,000. His army appeared before Savannah, December 10, and ten days later entered the city, where it remained until February 1, 1865.

GETTYSBURG AND THE END OF THE WAR

346. The Battle of Chancellorsville. — We must now turn to the Virginian field of war, where the genius of Lee continued, in the face of superior numbers, to uphold the Confederate cause. As has already been noted, Burnside was relieved of his command after the disaster at Fredericksburg and Hooker was given his place. In the early months of 1863, the strength of the Union army in Virginia was brought up to 130,000, while Lee, on the other side of the Rappahannock, had not quite half that number.



STONEWALL JACKSON

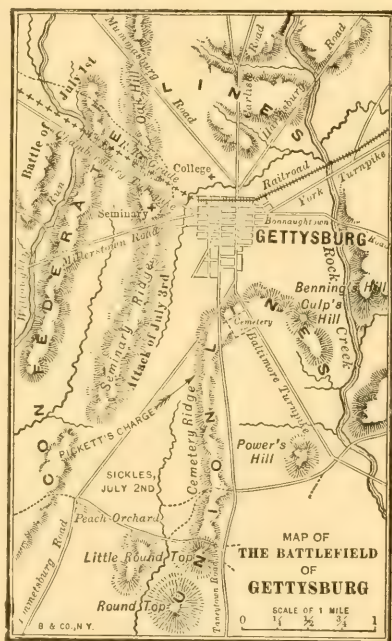
Toward the end of April, Hooker got in motion and crossed the Rappahannock, with the bulk of his army. Though greatly outnumbered, Lee opposed his advance at Chancellorsville, about nine miles above Fredericksburg, and in a series of battles, May 2, 3, and 4, drove Hooker back across the river. It was a splendid victory but dearly bought, for on the night of the first day's battle Stonewall Jackson was shot down in the darkness by his

own sentinels and died a week later. He was one of the great soldiers produced by the war, and the South could ill afford to lose him.

347. Gettysburg, "the High Tide of the Confederacy." — After his striking success at Chancellorsville, Lee decided to invade the North. Many Northerners were tiring of the struggle, and the Southern leader hoped by a decisive blow to secure favorable terms of peace. Moreover, he had been so successful that he underestimated the fighting strength of the North.

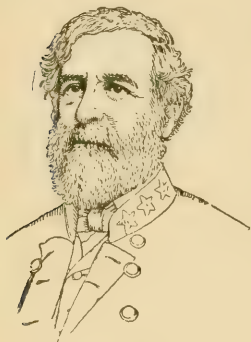
Lee moved north by way of the Shenandoah Valley and on June 15 began crossing the Potomac; before the end of the month his main force arrived at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and his van had pushed northward to capture Harrisburg. While at Chambersburg,

Lee learned that he was pursued by the Union forces under General Meade, successor to Hooker, who had resigned because he could not get on well with the authorities in the War Department. The Confederates at once gave up the attempt on Harrisburg and turned to give battle to Meade. The head of the Federal column was stopped July 1 about a mile northwest of Gettysburg; its leader, Reynolds, was



killed and his men were pushed back through the town. Just south of Gettysburg rises Cemetery Ridge, which offered an excellent place to make a stand. General Hancock, who succeeded Reynolds, threw up intrenchments on the ridge and placed his guns to resist the Confederate advance. General Meade, who came up during the night, agreed with Hancock's choice of a field and gathered his whole strength to defend the position.

In the afternoon of July 2 Lee delivered a violent attack on the Federal left which was with great difficulty repulsed.



GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE

Toward evening he struck at Meade's right, and only the coming of darkness saved the Federals from disaster. The next day the Confederate leader prepared to pierce the Union center and chose Pickett's division, 5400 men, to lead the charge. Pickett was to be supported by 10,000 men of General Hill's corps, with Stuart's famous cavalry to complete the work. After a terrific cannonade, in which over a hundred guns played on the Union position, Pickett's column started across the mile of open ground which lay between the opposing lines. The Union artillery could not stop the onward rush, even when at 600 yards' distance they poured a hail of canister and shrapnel into the ranks of the Confederates, who received the fire of the first line of Federal infantry without wavering and stopped only when a second line was reached. By this time they were exposed to a murderous fire on their flanks, and in twenty minutes the shattered column began its retreat. Pickett's charge, it has been said, marked "the

high tide of the Confederacy." Never again was the South so close to victory.

Lee withdrew to Virginia and military activities of importance ceased for the remainder of the year in the eastern theater of war.

348. Draft Riots. — While the North on July 4, 1863, was rejoicing over the victory at Gettysburg, news came of the fall of Vicksburg. This double gift of victory came at an opportune time. Many in the North had opposed the war from the beginning and thousands of others had grown discouraged as Lee outfought one Union leader after another. Volunteers practically ceased to go to the front by the end of 1862 and Congress had resorted to compulsory service. In the draft of men under this arrangement charges were made that members of the dominant political party were favored. This grievance, added to a sharp opposition to the war in many places, led to great difficulty in securing soldiers. In New York riots broke out against the draft in July, 1863, just after Gettysburg, and for a few days the city was given over to mob rule; a thousand persons were killed or injured before order was restored.

To promote enlistment the Federal government and state and county authorities offered bounties in addition to the regular pay of the soldiers. Toward the end of the war the bounties offered in New York for a soldier rose to nearly \$800. Many men made a practice of enlisting to claim the bounty and then deserting to enlist elsewhere under another name. The Confederates, likewise, found that volunteering failed early in the war, and in the South compulsory military service was enforced with an iron hand. Boys and old men were drafted into service until it was said that the army robbed the cradle and the grave.

349. Financing the War. — Besides finding difficulty in getting soldiers, the North was hard pressed to pay the growing cost of the war. To meet the country's needs a tax of 3 per cent was imposed on incomes over \$800 and later in the war the rate was raised to 4 per cent and even higher on larger incomes. Import duties were increased, while excises were levied on liquors and tobacco, and stamp taxes were imposed on various occupations and business transactions. But only a part of the cost of the war could be borne by taxation, and the government, from the beginning of the struggle, sought to borrow money by selling bonds. Congress exacted "forced loans" amounting to nearly half a billion dollars by issuing paper money, "greenbacks," as the notes were called, which the people were compelled to accept, but which bore no interest. So much of this money was issued that throughout the later years of the war a paper dollar was worth only from forty to seventy-five cents in gold.

In 1863 the daily cost of the war rose to \$2,500,000 and extraordinary loans had to be made. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, attempted to relieve the situation by establishing the national banking system which has remained to the present time. Associations of private citizens were authorized to establish national banks, on the condition, among others, that each national bank should purchase government bonds to the amount of one third of its capital. It could then deposit these bonds with the Federal Treasury and issue "National Bank Notes" up to 90 per cent of the value of the bonds deposited. The system permitted the government to sell its bonds, and the country had in the national bank notes a sound paper currency.

At the end of the war, the government imposed a tax of

10 per cent on paper money issued by state banks, with the result that these found it to their interest to take out charters as national banks and thus greatly increased the market for government bonds.

350. Lee Driven Back to Richmond. — In the spring of 1864 Grant, who had been given command of all the Union armies, took charge of the campaign in Virginia. The opposing armies had spent the winter facing each other on opposite sides of the Rapidan, the chief tributary of the Rappahannock. Early in May Grant crossed the Rapidan and met Lee in the Wilderness, near the old field of Chancellorsville. In this dense undergrowth fighting continued for two days, May 5 and 6, without any important success for either side. Grant now moved southeast to outflank Lee, but found the Confederates across his path at Spottsylvania Court House. Here fighting took place, May 8 to 21, at a great sacrifice of men on Grant's part, his losses in the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania being 34,000. But he felt that he could spare men while the enemy could not. It was at this time that he sent his famous dispatch saying, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

After Spottsylvania he again moved southeast and by the end of May reached the ground which McClellan had occupied two years before. June 3 he faced Lee at Cold Harbor, six miles north of the fortifications of Richmond, and in a fierce assault upon the Confederate lines lost 7000 men in half an hour. Unable to reach the capital from the north, he now (June 14) crossed the James; but, before he could approach Richmond from the south, he had to take Petersburg, which was strongly held. Here he wasted nearly 15,000 lives in two weeks and then had to settle

down to take the place by siege operations which lasted nine months.

351. The Shenandoah Campaign. — On July 1 Lee sent General Early to clear the Shenandoah Valley of Union troops and threaten Washington, just as two years before he had sent Stonewall Jackson on a similar errand. Early acted with vigor and was prevented from entering Washington only by the timely arrival of aid from Grant on July 12. Sheridan was now sent by Grant to put an end to Confederate activity in the Shenandoah. Greatly outnumbering his opponent, he defeated Early at Winchester, September 19, and at Fisher's Hill three days later. To prevent further raids on Washington by way of the valley, he systematically destroyed everything that might be of use to an army. "A crow flying over the country would have to carry his rations," said Sheridan after he had completed his work of devastation.

Early was reënforced and again sent north in response to a Southern demand for vengeance. He surprised the Federals at Cedar Creek, October 19, and drove them from the field. Sheridan, who had passed the night at Winchester, twenty miles away, was returning to his command when he heard what had happened. By hard riding he reached the scene of the disaster and by noon had re-formed his broken ranks and set out to meet the enemy, whom he swept from the field before night.

352. The Second Election of Lincoln. — While Grant was making his costly advance toward Richmond, the presidential campaign of 1864 opened. The country saw the cost of Grant's bloody policy, but it could not see how near to exhaustion the South had come. Loud complaint of Lincoln's management of affairs was heard, and attempts

were made to prevent his renomination. Though these attempts failed, many of his friends feared defeat at the polls. In order to gain as wide a support as possible, Lincoln's supporters dropped the name Republican and called themselves the Union Party when they renominated the President in June. For the vice-presidency they named Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, a Southern Democrat who had remained loyal to the Union. The Democrats named General McClellan as their presidential candidate and adopted a platform calling for the cessation of bloodshed. Lincoln himself had doubts of his reelection, and the country seemed in a similar mood for a time; but when Sherman took possession of Atlanta in September, and Sheridan drove the Confederates out of the Shenandoah in October, a change came over the spirit of the North. Lincoln was reelected by the remarkable majority of 212 electoral votes to 21 for McClellan.

353. A Peace Conference. — Throughout the winter of 1864-1865, Lee had difficulty in keeping together 50,000 poorly equipped and poorly fed men for the defense of Richmond, and Johnston had fewer than 40,000 with whom to oppose Sherman as he came north from Savannah through the Carolinas. The end of the rebellion seemed at hand, and Lincoln was invited to discuss terms of peace at a conference at Hampton Roads, February 3, 1865. He offered peace on condition that the South give up the idea of independence and accept emancipation of the slaves. The Confederate government was not officially represented at the conference and refused to listen to peace talk on the conditions proposed.

354. Evacuation of Richmond. — In the spring of 1865 Grant was able to push his lines westward past Petersburg

to threaten the railroad from Danville, Virginia, by which supplies were brought to Richmond. To meet this danger Lee was compelled to extend his own lines which, on account of inadequate numbers, became very thinly held. As a result, the Confederates gave way at several points during the fighting of April 1 and 2, and the defense of Richmond was seen to be at an end. The Confederate government officials withdrew from their capital, and on April 3 Lee abandoned Richmond, hoping to escape along the railroad to Danville and unite with Johnston in North Carolina.

355. Lee Surrenders, April 9, 1865. — Two days after the evacuation of Richmond, Sheridan's cavalry seized the Danville railroad and Lee directed his march to Lynchburg, where another railroad offered a chance of escape. Again Sheridan moved rapidly, and in the evening of April 8, at Appomattox Court House, put himself in front of the now dispirited Confederates. By a long night march Federal infantry, under Ord, came to Sheridan's support, and on the 9th Lee recognized that resistance was hopeless.

He met Grant in the village of Appomattox, and the two great soldiers talked for a time of the days when they had seen service together in the Mexican War. The Union leader offered generous terms, which were accepted. Both officers and men were paroled on their promise not to fight again unless exchanged. Officers were to keep their side arms, and both officers and men retained their horses, if they owned them. The men would need them for the spring plowing, Grant said. Lee then bade farewell to his men, whose ranks had been thinned by war, sickness, and desertion until only 27,000 remained.

356. Johnston Yields; Davis Is Captured. — April 26 General Joseph E. Johnston, who had 37,000 troops in

North Carolina, yielded to Sherman on the same terms that Lee had received. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, was captured in southern Georgia, May 10, and during that month over 100,000 Confederate soldiers in various parts of the South laid down their arms.

357. The Death of Lincoln (April 15). — The great-hearted leader who had carried the nation's burden through the years of war was not spared to see the completion of his work. As President Lincoln and his family were witnessing a play at Ford's theater in Washington on the evening of April 14, John Wilkes Booth, an actor, entered their box and fatally wounded the President with a pistol shot. The same evening an unsuccessful attempt was made to kill Secretary Seward at his home. The President died the next morning at a few minutes past seven o'clock. The nation deeply mourned his death, and it must remain a matter of regret that he did not live to bind up the wounds caused by the war.

358. Cost of the War. — Over 700,000 lives were lost in the war, the two sections suffering about equally in this respect; wounds and disease disabled hundreds of thousands more. The war cost the national government three and a half billion dollars and of this \$2,808,000,000 remained as a national debt at the end of the conflict. The need of great revenue led the government to increase the tariff duties beyond anything the country had known, and since then the general high level of duties has been maintained.

Aided by immigration, the North grew rapidly in population during the war; new wheat lands were brought under cultivation; its industry and commerce expanded, and it was a richer section in 1865 than it had been in 1860. The South, on the other hand, had grown but little in

numbers, and in the vast destruction of property wrought by the war it was the chief sufferer. Lacking manufacturing resources, its railroads and other industrial equipment wore out and had to be slowly rebuilt after the war. The liberation of the slaves overturned the old system of agriculture and left the South with the problem of reorganizing its farming with free labor and of caring for a negro population which had become free but remained largely helpless.

359. The Thirteenth Amendment (1865). — The Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, dealt only with slaves in the territory held by the Confederacy on that date. Before the end of the war Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia, states which had remained loyal, freed the slaves within their borders, while the temporary governments set up by Lincoln in Tennessee, Louisiana, and Virginia did likewise in the regions which they controlled. Thus the loyal states of Kentucky and Delaware were the only portions of the United States where slavery was regarded as legal at the end of the war.

The work of emancipation was completed by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which was proposed by Congress early in 1865 and became a part of the Constitution in December of that year. Under its provisions slavery was abolished in those places where it still existed and was forbidden forever within the United States.

Vocabulary

arsenal demolished emancipation vengeance

Map Exercises

1. Note carefully on your maps the location of Richmond and Washington.

2. Show on an outline map the place of all the important engagements of the war in the East.
3. Trace carefully Grant's progress in the West in 1862.

Questions

1. Under what conditions and with what prospects did Abraham Lincoln become President of the United States?
2. State clearly his views on slavery and on secession.
3. Why was the attack on Fort Sumter a mistake?
4. Name the states which seceded, in the order of their secession.
5. Compare the strength in numbers and in resources of the two parties at the opening of this conflict.
6. Why did much of the fighting center around Washington and Richmond?
7. Name and characterize the important commanders on each side in the first year of the war.
8. Give results of the important engagements.
9. In what ways was England concerned in the Civil War? How was trouble with England averted?
10. How would the *Merrimac* and *Monitor* compare with a modern battleship?
11. Name and give results of the important engagements in the East in 1862.
12. What is the importance of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation?
13. Give the reason why Vicksburg was so important to the South.
14. Describe the exciting campaign ending in the capture of Lookout Mountain.
15. Why was Sherman anxious to capture Atlanta?
16. What song was composed to commemorate Sherman's march to the sea?
17. Give the leaders at the battle of Gettysburg and describe the event briefly.
18. Examine a "bank note" and compare it with a silver and a gold certificate.
19. What event marks the breaking of the South's resistance?
20. Why did the South suffer more after the war than the North?
21. How and when was slavery abolished in the United States?

CHAPTER XXI

THE SOUTH RESTORED TO SOUTHERN CONTROL

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF JOHNSON AND GRANT

360. States or "Conquered Provinces"? — The war destroyed the system of slavery and put an end to the notion that a state is free to throw off the control of the national government. But, as the war approached its end, this very important question was raised, How were the Southern states to be restored to their old place in the Union? Two answers were given to this question, one by the President, the other by Congress.

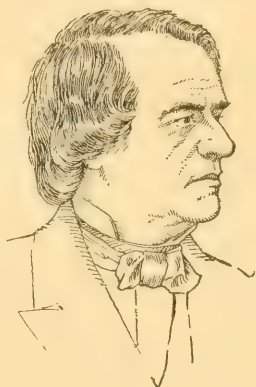
(a) Lincoln held that a state could not secede, and consequently the Southern states were never out of the Union. It was, therefore, his opinion that as commander-in-chief of the army he could say when the Union soldiers should be withdrawn from the South and on what conditions civil government should be set up again in that region.

(b) Congress, on the other hand, took the view that the Southern states had ceased to be states of the Union; they had committed state-suicide, it was said. Others called them "conquered provinces," to be administered by Congress as were any other territories of the United States.

In July, 1864, Congress had passed what was known as the "Wade-Davis Bill" in order to keep in its own hands the work of restoring the Southern state governments. Lin-

coln vetoed the bill and undertook to set up state governments according to his own plans in four of the states where the Union army was in control. Congress refused to recognize any state that might be restored by Lincoln's plan and would not permit the electoral votes of such states to be counted. This was the situation when the great leader died and Andrew Johnson became President, April 15, 1865.

361. Johnson Follows Lincoln's Plan. — President Johnson, like Lincoln, was a man of humble parentage and self-taught. A native of Tennessee, he followed the trade of tailor and as a labor leader rose to political prominence. He had been a member of Congress and when elected to the vice-presidency was military governor of Tennessee. Though loyal to the Union, he believed in a large measure of state rights and found it easy to fall in with Lincoln's plan for restoring the Southern state governments without delay. Congress was not in session when he became President, and he had nearly eight months in which to act before another session began in December. By that time he had state governments completed or in process of formation in all the Southern states where Lincoln's plan was not already in operation. Certain classes of Confederate officials and men of wealth were excluded from voting but, in general, the President intended that Southern whites should control the civil government of the South.



ANDREW JOHNSON

362. The "Black Codes." — The legislatures elected in the restored states soon began work. When they came to

deal with the large negro population, they put restrictions on the blacks which alarmed public opinion in the North. The freedman was forbidden, in some states, to own land or to be a witness in court unless one party to the suit was colored. An idle negro might be arrested and fined; if he could not pay his fine, he might be sentenced to work for a white man until the amount of the fine was earned. Other offenses besides idleness were punished in the same manner. The enactment of these "black codes" seemed to the South necessary in dealing with a race just freed from slavery, but to the North it appeared to be an attempt to reintroduce slavery under new forms; and as a result Northerners urged Congress to undo Johnson's work of restoration.

363. Congress Opposes the President. — When Congress met in December, 1865, it at once showed opposition to the President's policy by refusing to seat the representatives from the newly restored states. In the following months it passed, over the President's veto, a Civil Rights Bill and other measures to compel the South to recognize the negro as a citizen of the United States and to guarantee him a citizen's rights.

364. The Fourteenth Amendment. — In June, 1866, Congress, under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens in the House and Sumner in the Senate, went further and proposed a Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution with a number of provisions which were distasteful to the South.

Having proposed the amendment the Congressional leaders announced that *no representatives would be received from a state which failed to ratify it*. With the exception of Tennessee the states of the old Confederacy refused to ratify the amendment, and in the early months of 1867 Congress prepared to impose its will on the South.

365. Reconstruction Acts of 1867. — Beginning in March, 1867, Congress provided for the military government of the South, except Tennessee. The governments set up by presidential authority were overthrown and the blacks given a voice in making new state constitutions which safeguarded the negro's right to vote. Northern politicians now entered the South in large numbers, organized the negro vote, and secured control of the state governments. Under these conditions seven states conformed to the will of Congress, ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and were permitted to take part in the presidential election of 1868. In July of that year the Fourteenth Amendment was declared a part of the Constitution.

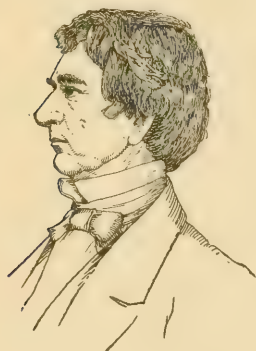
366. Impeachment of President Johnson (1868). — Throughout the year 1867 Congress sought means to get rid of President Johnson, who opposed its severe policy in the South. In February, 1868, the House of Representatives impeached the President of "high crimes and misdemeanors," and asked that he be tried before the Senate for unlawfully dismissing Stanton, Secretary of War, from office; for criticisms of Congress which he had uttered; and for other offenses with which they charged him.

367. The President Acquitted. — As the trial proceeded before the Senate, it was shown that Johnson had acted legally in dismissing Stanton, and it became clear that if the President were convicted it would be merely because his political enemies had a two-thirds majority in the Senate. His opponents failed by a single vote (May, 1868) and Johnson was left to serve out his term.

368. Election of Grant (1868). — In the campaign of 1868 the Republicans nominated General Grant for the presidency and the Democrats named Horatio Seymour of New York. Grant proved a popular candidate and received

241 electoral votes as against 80 for his opponent. His majority was increased by the fact that six of the restored states were completely in the hands of the negroes and "carpet-baggers," as the Northern politicians who flocked to the South were called.

369. The French in Mexico. — Before passing from Johnson's presidency it is desirable to take account of two of his notable achievements in the field of diplomacy: the expulsion of the French from Mexico, and the purchase of Alaska. Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, in 1861 sent an army to Mexico which set up an empire with Maximilian of Austria as Emperor. The act seemed to be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, but the burdens of war kept the United States from interfering. At the end of the conflict vigorous protests were made to Napoleon, and in 1866 he took measures to withdraw his army. No doubt he was aided in coming to a decision by the presence on the Mexican border of General Sheridan with over 50,000 veterans of the Civil War. The unhappy Maximilian, unsupported by French arms, was captured and shot (June, 1867) and the Mexican Empire came to an end.



WILLIAM H. SEWARD

370. Purchase of Alaska (1867). — Secretary Seward turned from Mexican affairs to negotiations with the Russian government for the purchase of Alaska, which Russia had found too remote for effective control. There was some opposition because the wealth of the region was little known in America at the time, but in October, 1867, Alaska was taken over by the United States at a cost of \$7,000,000.

371. " Carpetbagger " Government. — In the new state governments which were set up in the South in accordance with the will of Congress, the responsible men of the South were excluded from office. The conduct of affairs fell, for the most part, into the hands of " carpetbaggers " and negroes, who had little sense of responsibility and who expended the public money with criminal wastefulness. Illiterate negroes, suddenly raised to power, found, as Professor Paxson points out " an irresistible attraction in the plush carpets, the mahogany desks, and imported cuspidors " which they bought with the taxpayers' money. Fraud and bribery entered everywhere into the public service.

372. The Ku Klux Klan. — Unable to secure political control by peaceful means, the Southern white population resorted to violence and intimidation. Secret societies, known by the general name of the Ku Klux Klan, were organized, beginning in 1867. At night they sent out masked horsemen who flogged negroes and an occasional carpetbagger, and at times hanged their victims. By these deeds of violence, carried on through four or five years, negroes were frightened away from the polls and the whites were enabled to regain political control.

In 1871 Congress passed legislation to protect negro voters, and President Grant increased the Federal military forces in the South. But the Klan had already done its work in most of the Southern states. The negroes, it was found, could be kept from the polls without resort to violence, and by this time the Southern white population had been consolidated into a single party, the Democratic, which put them in a majority in a number of states.

373. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870). — Once the Southern whites got control of their state governments, they

were free to pass laws prohibiting negroes from voting. The only penalty for so doing was a reduction of Southern membership in Congress as provided in the Fourteenth Amendment. Congress, therefore, determined to enforce negro suffrage in the South, although at the time only a few Northern states permitted the negroes to vote. By the Fifteenth Amendment, proclaimed in force March 30, 1870, the right of a citizen to vote must not be denied on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The three states of the South, hitherto unrestored, were compelled to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment; and in 1870 the process of restoration was completed, but only in name, for Federal garrisons were still in control in various parts of the South.

374. Reëlection of Grant (1872). — As the presidential election of 1872 approached, a large number of Republicans were found opposing the renomination of Grant. Many in the North, even in the dominant Republican Party, opposed the continuation of military rule in the South and denounced the Administration for that rule, though it was Congress and not the President that should have been held responsible. Another group of Republicans was anxious to overturn the "spoils system" and wished to make appointments and promotions in the civil service depend on merit and not merely on political influence. This group found Grant somewhat unsympathetic toward their reform and undertook to defeat him for reëlection.

The Republican opponents of the President, calling themselves Liberal Republicans, nominated Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune* for President on a platform demanding civil service reform and home rule for the South. The Democrats, hoping for victory, accepted Greeley as their candidate, though he had been their bitter opponent. Grant,

who was renominated by the Republican Party, was elected by the large majority of 272 electoral votes as against 66 for Greeley. The great editor died within a few weeks after his defeat.

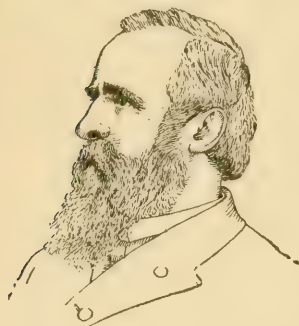
375. The Alabama Award. — During the presidential campaign of 1872, the country was gratified to hear that a long-standing dispute with Great Britain had terminated satisfactorily. We have read that the United States had complained of the action of the British Government in permitting the Confederate cruiser *Alabama* to escape from an English port to prey upon Federal commerce. The United States had long urged reparation for the injury, and, in 1871, in the treaty of Washington, Great Britain apologized for any lack of diligence on her part in letting the *Alabama* escape and agreed to arbitrate the question of liability for damages before an international tribunal at Geneva.

The Geneva Tribunal, made up of five members, one each from the United States, Great Britain, Switzerland, Italy, and Brazil, found that Great Britain was responsible for damages to our commerce done by the *Alabama*, and awarded to the United States \$15,000,000, to be paid to those whose property had been destroyed.

376. Political Corruption of the Period. — It was not only in the South that a low moral tone was found in political life. In the North in city and state governments theft of public funds was common, and in national affairs Congressmen and others in high places were found taking bribes. Many revelations of political dishonesty were made during Grant's second term of office. In 1873 two members were expelled from the House of Representatives for bribery in connection with an investigation into the affairs of the new Union Pacific railroad. Many other members were brought

under suspicion, and the career of Colfax, the Vice-President, was wrecked by connection with the scandal. In 1875 it was found that high officials in the Treasury Department had permitted whisky distillers to defraud the government of millions of internal revenue. The next year Belknap, Secretary of War, was found to have received thousands of dollars in bribes in connection with Indian affairs, and resigned just in time to escape impeachment.

377. The Disputed Election of 1876. — These scandals created a painful impression on the country and did much to injure the Republican Party. The financial panic of 1873, followed by severe business depression, also caused many voters to turn from the party in power, as a period of "hard times" always does. The Democrats won a majority in the House of Representatives in 1874, and as the presidential election of 1876 came on they were confident of securing control of the government. Their candidate was



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York, who was prominent in the reform movement in his state. The Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. To draw public attention away from the corruption in high places in their party, the Republican leaders sought to stir up the bitter memories of the war time and launched a debate in Congress on the conduct of the Southern military prisons during the rebellion. The Southern leaders replied warmly, as was expected, and a large portion of the campaign was devoted to a discussion of old issues.

When the election was over, it was found that 19 electoral votes from three Southern states, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida, were disputed. The "carpetbagger" governments were still in existence in those states, and Federal troops prevented the southern whites from getting control of affairs. Each party in these states charged the other with fraud and each sent its list of votes to Washington. Aside from the vote from these states, Tilden had 184 votes and Hayes 166. Unless Hayes got every disputed vote he would be defeated.

378. The Electoral Commission (1877). — The question now arose as to which votes from the disputed states would be counted. The Constitution does not make provision for a case of this kind and the Republican Senate and the Democratic House found it difficult to agree. In January, 1877, Congress set up an Electoral Commission of fifteen members, five from the Senate, five from the House, and five Justices of the Supreme Court. After some weeks of investigation the Commission, of which eight members were Republican and seven Democratic, gave every disputed vote to Hayes, who accordingly became President.

379. Federal Garrisons Withdrawn from the South. — Before the decision of the Commission became known, friends of Hayes promised that he would withdraw the Federal garrisons which upheld "carpetbagger" rule in the three states. Whether or not Hayes had knowledge of this promise, he soon recalled the troops and the southern whites came into power. The Democrats had lost the presidency, but they had won the three states. Since then the South has been left for the most part to solve its own problems.

Vocabulary

arbitration diplomacy dominant impeachment international

Questions

1. State the views held by Lincoln concerning the South toward the close of the war and those of his opponents in Congress. 2. How did Andrew Johnson become President? What were his views on secession? 3. What was the purpose of the "Black Codes"? 4. How can a bill be passed over the President's veto? 5. Give briefly the subject matter of each of the three "war" amendments. 6. What do you think of the methods used to force acceptance of the Fourteenth Amendment? 7. Review the Monroe Doctrine in connection with Johnson's expulsion of the French from Mexico. 8. How has the purchase of Alaska proved to be a wise move? 9. What did the Ku Klux Klan accomplish? What were its methods? 10. State the principles for which the opponents of Grant stood in 1872. 11. What criticisms of the Republican administration were urged before the election of 1876? 12. How and when was the South relieved of military control?

CHAPTER XXII

A NEW INDUSTRIAL ERA

380. The Centennial Year. — The presidential campaign of 1876, resulting in the election of Hayes, was the last in which the problems left by the war were the chief matters of political discussion. Before another President was elected a great Republican leader, James G. Blaine, advised his friends that the people were no longer interested in the old conflict between North and South. "You want to fold up the bloody shirt and put it away. It's of no use to us," he told them. A new industrial era had begun, bringing with it new problems and forcing upon the attention of the country new political issues.

In 1876 the nation invited the world to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of independence. The exposition revealed to Europeans and to Americans themselves the great and varied resources of the country. It exhibited also the inventive skill of the American people in many lines but, at the same time, when American manufactured products were placed beside those of European make they were seen to be lacking in artistic execution. The exposition was of great benefit in raising the standards of American taste.

381. Signs of the New Era. — The growth of the country was seen in the extension of railroads, in the development of the far West, in the arrival of vast numbers of immigrants from the Old World, in the growth of gigantic business organizations or "trusts," and in other ways.

382. Railroad Extension. — Railroad construction, which had been checked by the war, went forward rapidly with the coming of peace. Congress loaned money generously to aid in building the Union Pacific from Omaha by way of Ogden, Utah Territory, to Sacramento, and in addition gave twenty sections of land for every mile of track. An area larger than the state of New York was thus presented to the owners of the railroad and similar lavish grants were made to other roads. In the spring of 1869 a celebration was held near Ogden, where the last spike was driven and the two oceans were united by bands of steel.

In 1870 the country had 53,000 miles of railroad and in the following decade, in spite of several years of hard times, the mileage had risen to 92,000. Then from 1880 to 1890 came the most remarkable railroad building era the country has seen, when the mileage was raised to 164,000. The years from 1881 to 1885 saw the completion of three trans-continental lines, the Northern Pacific, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, and the Southern Pacific.

Not only were new roads built, but old railroads were fitted with heavy steel rails in place of iron, an improvement made possible by the invention of the Bessemer process of steel manufacture. Heavier engines and larger cars could now be used and the cost of transportation was greatly reduced. Along with these improvements in operation went another, — the consolidation of short lines into larger units. Before 1860 railroad companies rarely controlled

more than a few hundred miles of road. Consolidation led to betterment of the service and more economical management, though a carelessness of human life long remained a characteristic of American railway management. In 1882, in consequence of the growth of railroads, the managers agreed upon a standard time to take the place of the variety of local time before prevalent.

383. Discrimination in Freight Rates. — Though the rapid extension of railroads built up many new communities in the West, the settlers were not without grievances against the roads. The railway managers regarded their business as private and kept their freight rates secret. Large shippers were given special rates, to the grave injury of smaller shippers. Cities were built up by low rates at the expense of their neighbors. The West was dependent for its prosperity on the railroads, and many communities suffered extreme hardships not only from unequal rates but from extortionate rates. In the East, where a district was more likely to be served by competing railroads, excessive charges were not so frequent.

384. Attempts at State Regulation. — By 1870 the evils of discrimination in rates and secret rebates aroused the West, and the states of the upper Mississippi Valley undertook to regulate the worst abuses of the railway business. A State Railway Commission was established in Illinois in 1871 with power to fix rates; and Iowa, Wisconsin, and other states followed with similar legislation.

These attempts to regulate railroad rates by state law became known as the "Granger Laws," from the activity of a social and political society which arose at this time in the Northwest, calling itself "The Patrons of Husbandry," but generally known as "The Grange." In 1874 the

society contained a million and a half members, chiefly in the northwest farming states.

385. The Interstate Commerce Commission (1887). — It early became evident that state regulation of railroads was not sufficient, especially in the case of transcontinental lines and other great railway systems, each of which served many states. A Congressional commission reported in 1886 that the railroad problem could be solved only by national regulation, and urged the appointment of a Federal commission with extensive powers. In the same year the Supreme Court decided that the regulation of the great railway systems was a work which Congress alone could perform. By the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, secret rates and other unfair practices were forbidden and a commission of five members was created with power to investigate the business of railroads engaged in interstate commerce and punish violations of the act. Serious abuses continued to thrive for many years in spite of the Commission, but from the beginning it did a valuable work in collecting evidence and in educating the public concerning the evils of railroad management.

386. Indian Wars. — The advance of white civilization across the continent was marked from the beginning by frequent clashes with the natives, who saw their hunting grounds taken from them and their food supply endangered. In the far West the coming of gold-hunters in the Civil War period alarmed the Indians of that region and when, in later years, the railroad builders appeared, the red man felt that he had to fight for his existence. Vast herds of buffalo roaming the western plains offered the natives a valuable food supply; but the whites, finding a ready sale for buffalo hides, slaughtered these animals without regard

for the interests of the Indians, over a million buffalo being killed annually within a few years after the opening of the Union Pacific.

The resistance of the natives to the encroachments of the whites led to a series of conflicts which became serious during the Civil War and lasted for twenty years or more. Officers of the army who were sent to deal with the Indians became convinced that a policy of severe repression was necessary. Occasionally they competed with the natives in savagery, refusing at times to give quarter, and even killing women and children.

One of the bloodiest campaigns of the Indian wars was that of 1876, undertaken to punish the Sioux, who wandered from their reservation in the west of what is now South Dakota and disobeyed the order of General Sheridan to return. Sitting Bull, the Sioux chief, was a capable leader and fought off his pursuers during several months. In July General Custer came up with him on the Little Big Horn in southern Montana. Concealing most of his forces, the Indian leader invited attack, and Custer, advancing to the charge, was cut down with his whole detachment of two hundred and four men. Sitting Bull and his followers withdrew across the Canadian border and did not return to the reservation until three years later, when they were given a general pardon.



GEN. GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER

387. The Dawes Act (1887). — One result of the Indian wars was that nearly all the Indians of the country were

confined to reservations set aside for them. The opinion grew that the old tribal ownership of land ought to cease and that the Indians would become civilized more readily if the lands were divided and distributed to individual Indians. By the Dawes Act of 1887, the President was given power to allot lands to such Indians as he might choose. On receiving his allotment the Indian was to become a citizen with a vote and other rights except that he could not sell his land for twenty-five years. This arrangement did not always work well, as his citizenship permitted the Indian to buy intoxicating liquor, and he often sold his vote for a square meal. Accordingly, in 1906, the Burke Act provided that the Indian should not become a citizen until he came into full ownership of his land and that the President should have authority to determine when he was worthy of receiving full title. The act also prohibited the selling or giving of intoxicants to Indians who were not yet citizens.

388. Indian Education. — The destruction of life and the expense entailed by the Indian wars led President Grant to hope for a settlement of the Indian question through the Christianizing of the natives. In 1870 he announced his "Indian Peace Policy," under which he determined to give the Indian agencies over "to such religious denominations as had heretofore established missionaries among the Indians." But in carrying out this policy, which the government adhered to until 1882, the terms of Grant's announcement were not fulfilled. Catholic missionaries had taken up work in thirty-eight of the seventy-two agencies then in existence, but only eight agencies were assigned to the Catholic Church, and 80,000 Catholic Indians were deprived of the ministrations of their religion. To take care of the interests of the Catholic Indians, a society was

organized in 1874, which in recent years has been known as the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. The Bureau has occupied itself in protecting the rights of the Indians and in providing them with schools and missionaries. The work of Indian education has been greatly fostered by the generosity of Mother Katherine Drexel, foundress of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indian and Colored People, who has given several millions of her personal fortune in aid of this cause. The government maintains over three hundred Indian schools, some of which afford opportunity for higher education.

389. The Admission of Nine New States. — In 1859 rich silver deposits were found in what is now Nevada, and as a population of some thousands was soon gathered at Virginia City and other centers, statehood was secured in 1864. Nebraska was admitted into the Union in 1867; and Colorado, the Centennial State, with its rich mines of silver and lead, was admitted in 1876. The growth of the West consequent upon railroad development was shown in a striking manner when four states, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, and Washington, were admitted to the Union in 1889, and two others, Wyoming and Idaho, in 1890. Utah, on account of the tardiness of the Mormons in giving up polygamy, was refused admittance until 1896.

390. Department of Agriculture Created. — The rapid extension of American agriculture led to a sharp fall in prices of farm products and, as a result, many of the poorer farms became unprofitable. Great interest was aroused in scientific methods of agriculture which might make the farmer's business more profitable. As the new regions of the West were reached, it was seen that irrigation and other new methods of farming had to be studied. To assist in solving

the farmer's problems the Department of Agriculture was created in 1889.

391. The New South. — After the destruction wrought by the war, the South lacked the necessary capital for a rapid extension of its railroads; and besides it had to rebuild its worn-out lines. By 1880, however, railroad construction was going forward rapidly, and in the next ten years the railroad mileage of the old Confederate States increased from 17,000 to 36,000. For many years after the war the South clung to cotton culture as it had done before the war, although the great plantations of earlier days were cut up into smaller farms. The area of cotton culture was in fact increased owing to the cultivation of vast fields in Texas which were now reached by railroads. The fall in the price of cotton turned attention to other crops; and by the end of the century the cotton states had more acres planted with corn than with cotton, though the total output of cotton did not decline. Fruit culture and other forms of agriculture have also received much attention in Florida and other southern states.

Since 1880 the great mineral resources of the South in coal and iron have been developed with constantly increasing success. The building of cotton mills and the establishment of other industrial enterprises have fostered the growth of large cities, and have brought with them the labor problems that accompany modern industry everywhere. The old South was opposed to internal improvements that were to be made by the general government, but in recent years the new South has welcomed Federal aid in controlling the floods of the Mississippi and improving navigation on it. Federal aid also is asked in reclaiming the swamp lands along the Mississippi and in other regions of the South.

392. The Negro Problem. — The South has continued to keep the negro from taking an active part in politics. Since 1890 this has been done by setting up tax-paying and educational qualifications which could be used to prevent negroes from voting but which need not be enforced against poor and illiterate whites.

Though the negro is denied political power, he is progressing in other fields. Great numbers of negroes have become farmers, either as renters or owners. At the end of the nineteenth century the number of negro owners had risen to 150,000, with farms averaging fifty-five acres in size. Illiteracy has decreased very rapidly among them through the multiplication of schools, many of which have been built or aided by funds raised in the North. In 1881 Booker T. Washington established Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, a trade school for members of his own race, and managed it very successfully until his death in 1915.

393. Growth of Population ; Immigration. — The population of the country, which at the beginning of the Civil War was somewhat more than 30,000,000, rose to 50,000,000 in 1880. Ten years later it was over 63,000,000 and by the end of the century, 77,000,000. Immigrants formed an important element in this rapid growth of numbers. The war and the "hard times" after 1873 retarded the stream of immigration for a few years; but it then rose rapidly. During the year of 1882 nearly 800,000 aliens landed on our shores. Though this figure was not reached again for twenty years, a large number of immigrants continued to come.

The railroads of the West, which had been given over a hundred million acres of land, sent agents to Europe to encourage migration to western farms; while the mill-

owners of the East sought to promote immigration in order to insure a steady supply of laborers. The steamship lines, which profited by the vast increase in ocean travel, also stimulated immigration. Germans and Irish remained for some years the most important groups among the newcomers, although Scandinavians came in increasing numbers, settling chiefly in the Northwest. The character of immigration changed after 1890. Since then southern and eastern Europe have contributed an ever-growing proportion of transatlantic immigration. Italians, Bohemians, Poles, and other Slavic peoples, Hungarians, Greeks, and Jews from Russia have been largely represented in later years.

394. Restrictions on Immigration. — It was feared that the coming of so many laborers would bring down the rate of wages in this country, so American labor societies urged that restrictions be placed upon immigration. In 1882 Congress provided for the inspection of immigrants and the deportation of those suffering from certain diseases, idiots, anarchists, and others regarded as undesirable. At the same time a head tax of fifty cents (later raised to two dollars and since 1907 to four dollars) was levied on each immigrant. In 1885 a Contract Labor Law was passed, forbidding the importation of aliens under contract to labor.

395. Growth of Labor Unions. — With the growth of large cities and the building of great manufacturing establishments came new labor problems which were forced upon the attention of the public. With the extension of railroads and other means of communication came the organization of workingmen in special fields of industry into national unions to take care of their common interests. Among the first to organize nationally were the railroad

workers, the locomotive engineers in 1863, the railway conductors in 1868, and the railway firemen the next year. By this time about forty other trades had organized nationally.

In 1869 there took place a new development in the labor world. In that year the Knights of Labor were established in Philadelphia to represent the interests of all laborers, skilled and unskilled. In their early days the Knights were a secret society, partly because many employers made membership in a labor organization a cause of dismissal. After 1882 the society ceased to be secret; and, under the capable leadership of Terence V. Powderly, it made a determined fight for better labor conditions. As a result of its campaign of education, a number of states established labor bureaus, following in this respect the example of Massachusetts, which set up a State Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1869. These bureaus did much to secure the enforcement of new factory legislation, to guard against dangerous machinery, and to secure healthful working conditions. In 1884 a Federal Labor Bureau was established, whose reports proved of great value in educating public opinion concerning the need of laws for the protection of working people, and especially women and children.

In the past twenty-five years the place formerly occupied by the Knights of Labor has been taken by the American Federation of Labor. This society, first organized in 1881, is a federation of the national labor unions. Its annual convention offers an opportunity for the labor leaders of the country to discuss the problems of organized labor.

396. The Expansion of Manufactures. — With the growth of the country in other lines of industry, the expansion of manufactures kept pace. Improvements in manu-

facture permitted the use of steel in buildings and for many other new purposes; city structures rose to great heights, a single building sometimes requiring a thousand tons of steel. The excellence of American manufactures, especially in farm machinery and sewing machines, led to large exports. By 1892 the nation was exporting as much steel and iron of one kind as it imported of another kind. By the end of the century the country became the greatest producer of pig-iron in the world. The use of copper for electrical purposes stimulated the production of that metal, so that the output of American mines rose from 27,000 tons in 1880 to 270,000 tons in 1900. In woolen and cotton manufacture likewise, vast strides were made.

397. Inventions; the Electrical Age. — The progress of the United States, as well as of the world at large, was in-



THOMAS A. EDISON

creased wonderfully by a number of inventions which were brought into everyday use in this period. Inventions were especially important in the field of electricity. In 1876 Alexander Graham Bell, who benefited by the labors of French and German scientists, secured a patent for the telephone, which has become so valuable an aid to the business world. A few years later, in 1880, the electric arc and the incandescent lamp were

put to commercial use, thus laying the foundation for vast businesses. In 1884 the overhead trolley was brought into practical use in the operation of electric railways, and in the following ten years the horse car was almost excluded from the streets of our cities. The phonograph was devised by

Thomas A. Edison as early as 1877, but it was more than ten years later before its production on a commercial scale became profitable. Another invention of very great value to the business men of the country was the typewriter, which was perfected about the same time. Of importance also were the improvements in photography, and especially in photo-engraving, by which the printing art profited immensely.

398. Business Concentration. — By 1880 there could be observed not merely an important development of American trade and manufactures; but there was also a remarkable concentration of business management. This concentration has already been noted in the railroad world, where short lines were combined by purchase or lease into great railroad systems. Men in other lines soon saw the advantage of business combination. They saw that if they should organize their businesses in this way, they would be able to buy materials in larger quantities at better prices; they would be able to borrow money more readily and at lower rates of interest; they could cut down the cost of selling goods because their salesmen, instead of competing with each other, could be set at work in new fields. The extension of railroads, the development of the express business, and of telegraph and telephone service widened the market that could be reached from the great manufacturing centers and stimulated the concentration of business. The adoption of low rates of postage, and the perfecting of methods of newspaper and magazine illustration contributed to the same result, as may be seen in the ready-made clothing business, where a few great manufacturers by extensive advertising control most of the trade and fix the “ styles ” for the whole country. The use of illustrated catalogues has permitted

the organization of huge "mail-order houses," which deal with customers in every part of the world.

Business concentration went on very briskly from 1880 to 1890. The number of plants making farm machinery was reduced in those years from nearly two thousand to fewer than one thousand, though the output was increased twofold. In the same ten years the number of woolen mills was reduced from 1990 to 1311, with a vastly increased output. A similar consolidation took place in many other fields of industry.

399. The Rise of Trusts. — In some lines concentration went very far, and occasionally one man or a small group of men acting together could influence the course of a whole industry, competition being weakened or entirely overcome. The name "trust" came into popular use to describe an industry controlled in this fashion. The first trust to attract attention grew up in the new industry for refining petroleum. Its chief promoter was John D. Rockefeller of Cleveland, who in 1865 organized the Standard Oil Company. Aided by shrewd management, but especially by secret rebates from the railroads, the Standard rose to a dominant position in the oil industry, and by 1882 had driven nearly all its competitors out of business or compelled them to join the trust. The success of Rockefeller in building up a great monopoly through discrimination in freight rates had a large influence in securing the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887.

400. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890). — Men in other industries were quick to follow the example of the Cleveland oil refiner, and many trusts now sprang up, chief among them being the Whisky Trust and the Sugar Trust. Though it was recognized that these great combinations had

many advantages, it was also seen that they exercised dangerous powers. It was said that they fixed prices for the materials they bought and the products they sold. They were known to destroy competitors by unfair and sometimes by criminal means, and they were felt to be a corrupting influence in the political life of the country.

In 1890 Congress enacted the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which forbade the trusts to engage in interstate commerce; but, for many years, no serious attempt was made to enforce it. Meanwhile the trusts grew in number and size. The failure to control the trusts under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act led in 1914 to the enactment of important supplementary legislation from which much good was expected.

401. The Australian Ballot. — The bribery of voters at elections had become a dangerous evil which led to a demand for a secret ballot. At this time ballots were printed and distributed by the candidate for office or by his party. The voter could be given a ballot arranged to suit the party leaders, and he could be watched until he deposited it in the ballot box. In 1888 Massachusetts led the way to reform by adopting a system of voting similar to that in use in Australia, and in the next four years about three fourths of the states followed her example. Under the Australian plan the voter receives a ballot printed by the state and is enabled to mark and deposit it in secret.

Vocabulary

consolidation	discrimination	extortionate	rebates
standard		transcontinental	

Questions

1. What was the value of the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876? Have recent expositions, such as the San Francisco Fair of 1915, the same value? Have you attended an exposition? 2. What were the difficulties that

made a transcontinental railroad such a wonderful achievement? 3. Is the consolidation of short railroads an unmixed advantage? 4. Explain the changes in time from New York to San Francisco. What "time zone" do you live in? 5. Is there a branch of the "Grange" in your locality? 6. Is there still a Federal commission to regulate interstate commerce? 7. Review the Indian Question (Sec. 302). 8. Describe an imaginary visit to an Indian reservation. 9. Name the present head of the Department of Agriculture. Do you know of any of its special activities at present? 10. Since the war, how have the North and the South become more united commercially? 11. Why do the negroes continue to be a problem in the South? 12. What is the immigration problem of the West? Why is it more serious than in the East? 13. In what part of the United States are the greatest copper mines? 14. What is the difference between iron and steel? 15. What is meant by pig-iron? For what is it used? 16. Give a list of all the objects in your home and school that could not have been there twenty-five years ago. Fifty years ago. 17. What are the good and bad points of a "trust"? 18. Explain the Australian ballot.

CHAPTER XXIII

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, THE TARIFF, AND FREE SILVER

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF HAYES, GARFIELD, ARTHUR, CLEVELAND, HARRISON

402. President Hayes and His Party. — President Hayes, as we have seen, withdrew the national garrisons from the South and left that region in Southern control. His action angered many in his party; some because they feared the South would not deal justly with the negro, and others because the withdrawal of the troops meant the loss to the party of many offices in the South and even threatened the party's control of the national government.

Another question soon arose to lessen the President's popularity with the party leaders. He made Carl Schurz, a distinguished German-American, Secretary of the Interior. Schurz, who was a friend of civil service reform, at once announced his intention of choosing men in his department on merit and not for political reasons. Senators and Representatives and other party leaders who had been in the habit of using the places in the public service as prizes to hold the party together, denounced Schurz and then attacked the President when he upheld the Secretary. Senator Conkling of New York was specially bitter in his denunciation of the President, who had removed from office Chester A. Arthur, Collector of the Port of New York, a

close friend of Conkling. The civil service reformers, on the other hand, denounced Hayes because he did not go far enough to suit them. Mrs. Hayes added to the unpopularity of her husband among certain classes by refusing to serve wines at the White House dinners. When the time came to choose his successor, the party refused Hayes the honor of a second nomination.

403. The Bland-Allison Law (1878). — During Hayes' administration the "free silver" question became a subject of political discussion and for the next twenty years continued to be debated. From 1834 to 1873 the government permitted what was known as the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. In other words, any person could present any amount of gold or silver bullion at the mints and receive for it an equal value in coin on payment of a small fee. By the ratio of sixteen to one it is meant that the five-dollar gold piece, for example, would be only one sixteenth as heavy as five silver dollars, one ounce of gold being worth about sixteen ounces of silver in the market. The great increase in gold production after the opening of the California mines in 1849 cheapened gold somewhat and the silver dollar became worth as much as \$1.03 in gold. That is to say, the manufacturers of silverware and other users of silver were willing to pay more for the bullion than the silver was worth as money. As a result silver was not presented at the mints during a number of years; and, in 1873, Congress directed that the silver dollar should no longer be coined.

But by the time Hayes became President the new silver mines of the West were producing vast quantities of the metal, and silver fell in value until it would have paid the mine-owners to be able to coin it. They now demanded a

renewal of the old coinage. Instead of opening the mints to all the silver offered, Congress in 1878 passed what was known as the Bland-Allison Law which directed the Treasury to buy from \$2,000,000 to \$4,000,000 worth of silver a month and coin it.

404. Specie Payments Resumed (1879). — It has been noted that during the war the government issued nearly half a billion dollars' worth of notes which bore no interest and mentioned no date for their redemption in coin or specie. Because of the uncertainty as to their redemption, these "greenbacks" circulated at a lower value than gold, thereby causing great inconvenience. In 1875 Congress passed the Resumption Act fixing January 1, 1879, as the day on which the government would resume specie payments; that is, pay out gold for greenbacks at their face value. When the day arrived there was little call for gold. The people were content to know that they could get gold for their greenbacks if they wanted it. Greenbacks rose to equal value with gold, and as they were more convenient to handle they remained in circulation.

405. The Election of Garfield (1880). — The Republican Party, turning from Hayes, had difficulty in uniting on a candidate in the presidential campaign of 1880. There was an attempt to name Grant for a third term, but at length the party determined upon James A. Garfield, a Congressman from Ohio, who had risen to the rank of Major-General during the war. The Democrats likewise found a soldier candidate in the



JAMES A. GARFIELD

person of General Winfield Scott Hancock, a hero of Gettysburg. Towards the end of the campaign the protective tariff, which was to figure largely in later contests, became a subject of debate. There was, however, no clearly defined issue between the parties and the campaign was filled with bitter personal attacks on the candidates. The election was very close, Garfield receiving only 10,000 more votes than Hancock, though the electoral vote stood 214 to 155.

406. Death of Garfield; Arthur Becomes President. —

A few months after his inauguration the new President was shot while waiting in a Washington railway station (July 2, 1881), and died eleven weeks later. The assassin was Charles Guiteau, a disappointed office seeker who was probably insane. On the death of Garfield the Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, succeeded to the Presidency (September 19, 1881).



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

407. Civil Service Commission (1883).

—The murder of the President by a man who had been an applicant for a Federal office turned the attention of the country to the evils of the spoils system. A Civil Service Reform League was organized to urge the adoption of the merit system; and in 1883 Congress was ready to listen to the popular demand for reform which was reinforced by the discovery of wholesale corruption in the postal service. In January of that year a Civil Service Act was passed which required a competitive examination of future applicants for certain classes of Federal offices. A Civil Service Commission of three members was established to supervise the examinations and oversee appointments; and the President

was empowered to extend the merit system to new classes of Federal employees as he saw fit. About 14,000 positions were placed under the operation of the law during Arthur's term, and in later years the merit system has been extended until it applies to about two thirds of the Federal offices.

408. The Election of Cleveland (1884). — In their choice of a candidate to succeed President Arthur, the Republicans named James G. Blaine, who had been the leader of his party in the House of Representatives for many years and had served for a brief period as Secretary of State. His Democratic opponent was Grover Cleveland of New York. The Democratic candidate had made an excellent record as governor of his state, and many Republican civil service reformers deserted their party to support him. He was elected by a very close vote, after a campaign filled with much abuse of both candidates.



GROVER CLEVELAND

The new President was pledged to civil service reform, but his party had been out of power for a quarter of a century and was hungry for places. Though Cleveland gave way to some extent to the spoilsmen, his administration marked an advance over the practices of the past.

409. Presidential Succession Act (1886). — Early in Cleveland's administration the death of the Vice-President, Thomas Hendricks, drew attention to the need of arranging for the succession in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice-President. Under the former arrangement the succession fell first to the President *pro tempore* of

the Senate, and secondly to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. But between the final adjournment of a congress and the organization of its successor these offices are vacant; and, besides, Congress is often controlled by the party which is in opposition to the President and Vice-President. With the purpose of insuring that the succession should not fail and that it should remain within the President's party, the Presidential Succession Act of 1886 provided that in the case of the death or disability of both President and Vice-President the Secretary of State should succeed and then other members of the Cabinet in turn in case of necessity.

410. The Tariff Question. — President Cleveland made it his business to bring the tariff question sharply before the country and tried to bring about a reduction of the high protective duties that had been imposed during the Civil War. The opponents of the war tariff argued that many American industries were so well established that they did



BENJAMIN HARRISON

not need the protection given them, and that the high duties were producing a great surplus of revenue which, they said, led to extravagance on the part of Congress. Cleveland did not succeed in revising the tariff, but he made the tariff question the principal matter of debate when the presidential campaign of 1888 arrived.

411. Harrison Elected; the McKinley Bill. — On the issue of protection the Republicans defeated Cleveland for reelection and placed in the White House their candidate, Benjamin

Harrison, a grandson of the hero of Tippecanoe. The Republicans interpreted their success as a victory for a high tariff; and, in 1890, they passed the McKinley Bill, a measure which greatly increased the tariff duties.

412. The Silver Purchase Act (1890). — There was much complaint that the tariff favored only the manufacturing districts of the country; and, during the debates on the McKinley Bill, the Republican senators from the silver-mining states of the West demanded that something be done for silver or they would defeat the tariff measure. At first they asked for "free silver" or the coinage of all the silver that might be offered, but they finally contented themselves with the terms of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which compelled the Treasury to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver a month and pay for it by issuing notes which were redeemable in gold or silver as the government might decide.

413. Cleveland's Second Election. — In the campaign of 1892 Harrison and Cleveland again opposed each other as the candidates of their respective parties. The campaign was fought largely on the tariff issue and resulted in the election of the Democratic candidate, who received 277 electoral votes as against 145 for Harrison and 22 for General J. B. Weaver, the candidate of the People's Party.

414. The People's Party. — Though dissatisfaction over the McKinley Tariff Law helped to defeat Harrison, another cause of his failure was the rise of a new national political organization, called the People's Party or Populists. Its candidate received over a million votes in the election, and a very large proportion of these were cast by former Republicans, especially in the West.

The expansion of agriculture brought with it at this time a period of low prices for cotton, wheat, and other farm

products. The farmers were anxious for relief from the hard times which had come upon them. Many thought that it was a scarcity of money that made prices low and that one way to get sufficient money in circulation was to permit the unlimited coinage of silver. Others denounced high freight rates as a cause of the farmers' sufferings and demanded government ownership of the railroads. There were many other conditions which were thought to need correction but were neglected by the old parties.

Farmers and workingmen in large numbers became convinced that a third party was necessary, and in the summer of 1891 the People's Party was organized at Cincinnati. It held its first national nominating convention the next year, when it named General Weaver for the presidency. Besides demanding the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, its platform contained a plea for a number of reforms which have since been adopted. Among these reforms may be mentioned a postal savings bank, a graduated income tax, the Australian ballot, and the direct election of United States Senators.

415. The Panic of 1893. — Cleveland had scarcely taken up the work of the presidency for the second time when a disastrous financial panic began. Almost from the beginning of its history our country has been visited about every twenty years by a panic. One was perhaps nearly due at this time; but its coming was probably hastened by the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and the renewal of the demand for free silver. The value of silver had fallen until the bullion in a silver dollar was worth only fifty cents in gold. Bankers and other lenders feared that the adoption of the unlimited coinage of silver meant that a "cheap"

silver dollar would become the standard of value in place of the gold dollar and that loans made on a gold basis might be repaid in money of much less value. Under the circumstances they hesitated to make loans; gold was hoarded and the business community was deprived of money which was badly needed, with the result that the panic was very likely much worse than it would have been in the absence of the free silver agitation.

Before the summer was far advanced hundreds of banks closed their doors and thousands of business concerns failed. Factories shut down and workmen in great numbers were thrown out of employment. "Soup kitchens" had to be opened for the relief of the unemployed, and throughout the following winter there was intense suffering in the larger cities of the country.

The President called a special session of Congress which repealed the Sherman Purchase Act in November, 1893; though many western Democrats joined with the western Republicans and Populists against the repeal, and accused Cleveland of favoring the eastern money interests.

416. The Pullman Strike (1894). — Events of the following year made the President unpopular with another class of citizens. A strike broke out among the workmen of the Pullman Palace Car Company in Chicago; the Knights of Labor took up the workmen's cause and railroad men refused to handle the Pullman cars. Much disorder occurred in Chicago, where thousands of outside laborers had been attracted by the Columbian Exposition held the preceding year to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. Governor Altgeld of Illinois did not think the riots of sufficient importance to call for the use of the state militia, but President Cleveland

sent Federal troops to Chicago on the ground that the strikers were interfering with the transportation of the United States mails. The men lost the strike, and organized labor became greatly embittered against the President.

Later in the year Congress made Labor Day a legal holiday, but during his term of office Cleveland did not regain the good-will of the labor world.

417. The Presidential Campaign of 1896. — As the time arrived for the selection of presidential candidates in 1896, it was seen that the Democratic Party was divided and that there would be a contest between the friends and opponents of the President for control of the nominating convention. Western Democrats and many young men of the party in the East wanted an alliance with the People's Party, not only in support of free silver but in support of other demands which, as we know, the Populists had formulated. These men won control of the convention in Chicago and nominated for the presidency a young man from Nebraska, William Jennings Bryan. The Populists, a few weeks later, indorsed the Bryan candidacy and the two parties joined in a demand for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of sixteen to one.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

The Republicans chose William McKinley of Ohio, whose name was widely known because of the McKinley Tariff Bill of 1890. The Republican platform opposed unlimited coinage of silver by the United States alone, but promised to work for international bimetallism.

The campaign which followed the nominations aroused a high degree of interest and was of great educational value, for voters everywhere spent much time in studying the silver question. Mr. Bryan, an excellent public speaker, traveled nearly twenty thousand miles, addressing vast crowds in the principal centers of population and smaller groups from the rear platform of his car wherever his train stopped. Mr. McKinley remained at his home in Canton, Ohio, where he spoke to scores of delegations of Republicans, who visited him from nearly every part of the country. The Republican candidate was successful, receiving 271 electoral votes, whereas Bryan received only 176.

418. The Dingley Tariff. — Though elected on the money issue, the new administration at once turned its attention to tariff legislation. The manufacturing interests of the country had contributed generously to the McKinley campaign fund, and a special session of Congress, called in 1897, revised the tariff for their benefit, increasing the protection afforded to many industries. The revision is known as the Dingley Tariff; Nelson Dingley, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, having directed its passage through the House of Representatives.

419. The "High Cost of Living." — The "hard times" which followed the panic of 1893 were passing away by the time McKinley was inaugurated. Good crops in the West aided the farmers, and the opening of great gold mines in Alaska at the end of 1896 and in the following year enormously increased the amount of money in circulation, thus putting an end to the agitation for more money, whether silver or other kind. Prices of food and other necessities of life began to advance rapidly and by the end of the century people were complaining of the high cost of living.

Vocabulary

pro tempore antagonism bimetallism bullion

Questions

1. Why was President Hayes not renominated? 2. Explain the phrase "sixteen to one." 3. Review your information about "greenbacks." 4. How did the assassination of Garfield affect the spoils and merit systems? 5. Can you name a class of Federal employees who come under the civil service? 6. How did the two parties stand on the tariff question in 1888? 7. What were the causes of the panic of 1893? 8. Give both sides of the main issue in the campaign of 1896.

CHAPTER XXIV

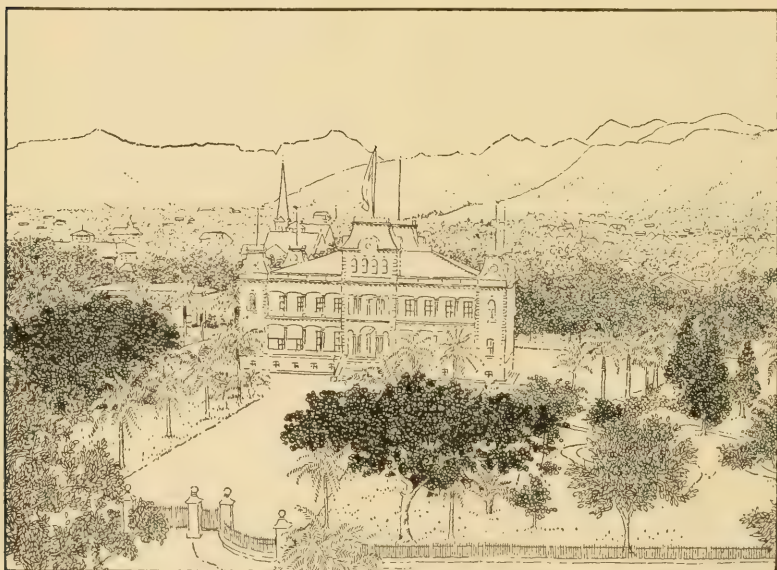
THE UNITED STATES BECOMES A WORLD POWER

THE ADMINISTRATION OF MCKINLEY, AND THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF ROOSEVELT

420. The Venezuelan Boundary Dispute. — It fell to the McKinley administration to bring to an end a controversy with England which had arisen during Cleveland's term of office and, for a brief period, had threatened war between the two countries. A long-standing difficulty between the British government and Venezuela over the boundary separating the South American Republic from British Guiana, led to a serious dispute in 1895, and Venezuela appealed to the United States for aid. President Cleveland urged the British authorities to arbitrate, and explained that the United States had never abandoned its special interest in the affairs of the Western Continent, which interest had been asserted in the Monroe Doctrine. The British government denied that the Monroe Doctrine retained any binding force and refused to arbitrate at Cleveland's request. The President thereupon (December, 1895) sent to Congress a message in which he asked for an American commission to locate the true boundary, and made it plain that Great Britain might choose between the American arrangement and war. When the matter became public the British Parliament and people did not uphold their

government in its refusal to arbitrate; and in 1897, after Cleveland left office, an international commission was organized to settle the Venezuelan dispute, and in 1899 the matter was finally disposed of.

Many found fault with President Cleveland for threatening war over what appeared to be a small matter, but in general the country upheld him. His action did much to promote the idea of international arbitration, and it led to the recognition of the growing influence of the United States in the affairs of the world.



THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING, HONOLULU. AT THE TIME OF THE ANNEXATION OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

421. Annexation of Hawaii (1898). — During the second half of the nineteenth century, American sugar growers acquired large interests in the Hawaiian Islands, and in 1893 a

movement to annex the islands to the United States attained considerable importance; but Cleveland refused his consent and the movement failed for the time. In 1898, however, when the war with Spain had increased our interest in the Pacific, the Republic of Hawaii was annexed and in 1900 was organized as a Territory of the United States.

WAR WITH SPAIN, 1898

422. The Cuban Rebellion. — After the successful revolt of her colonies in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Spain retained of her once great American Empire only Cuba and Porto Rico. Cuba, which had engaged in many revolts, rebelled once more in 1895. The rebels complained that they were overtaxed, that they had no self-government, and that the offices were held largely by Spaniards. The war, which continued for several years, was brutally conducted on both sides and much sympathy was aroused in the United States for the sufferings of the Cubans. At the same time important business interests which had invested in the Cuban sugar industry urged American intervention, hoping later to see Cuba annexed to the United States.

423. Destruction of the *Maine*; War Begins. — President McKinley asked the Spanish government to bring the war to a close and grant self-government to the Cubans. He was on the point of success when the battleship *Maine*, which had been sent to protect American citizens in Cuba, was blown up in Havana harbor (February 15, 1898). A portion of the press spread the impression that the Spanish government was responsible for the explosion, and American public opinion, inflamed by the cry "Remember the *Maine*!", demanded armed intervention.

Though Spain, in the following weeks, gave way to every demand of McKinley, he fell in with the popular desire for Cuban independence and asked Congress for authority to intervene. Congress was eager for action, and on April 21, 1898, the Spanish War began.

424. The Battle of Manila. — When war came the Navy was ready, largely through the foresight of Theodore



THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

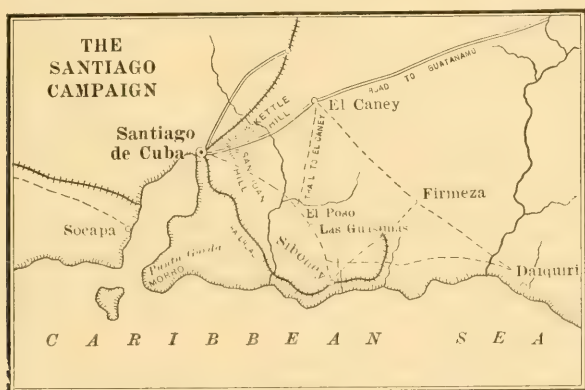
Roosevelt, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The Atlantic fleet was given the task of blockading Cuba to prevent the coming of reinforcements from Spain, while a Pacific squadron, which was at Hong Kong under the command of Commodore George

Dewey, was ordered to the Philippine Islands to destroy the Spanish fleet in the Pacific. Dewey entered Manila Bay May 1, and in a few hours' fighting the superior gunnery of the Americans overwhelmed the Spanish fleet. Troops from the United States arrived in June and July; and, on August 13, the city of Manila was occupied by the American forces.

425. The Blockade of Santiago. — Toward the end of April a Spanish fleet commanded by Admiral Cervera left the Cape Verde Islands for America. The people of the

Atlantic coast feared that the Spanish Admiral's purpose was a bombardment of their cities; but the officers of the Navy were convinced that he would make for a Cuban port to coal his vessels. Naval opinion was correct, for Cervera entered the harbor of Santiago near the eastern end of Cuba May 19; the American fleet arrived some days later and under the direction of Admiral Sampson established an effective blockade. One of Sampson's vessels, the battleship *Oregon*, had made a voyage of 14,000 miles from San Francisco around South America to take part in the work of the fleet.

426. Santiago Attacked by Land. — At the outbreak of the war the strength of the American army was 25,000 men,



but even this small force was poorly equipped for operations outside the United States. With the coming of war the regular army was enlarged to 62,000 men, and over 200,000 volunteers were taken into service.

Admiral Sampson asked for a land force to coöperate with the fleet. Before the end of June, 16,000 men under General William Shafter disembarked a few miles east of Santiago and began their advance on the city. On July 1 they took

El Caney and San Juan hill, positions which gave them control of the main road to Santiago from the east, and within a week the city was besieged from all sides.

The army suffered much hardship on account of the bad management of the War Department. The men were sent to a tropical region with the heavy winter clothing of the regular army; the food supply was irregular and the sanitary arrangements very inadequate. Malaria, yellow fever, and other ills attacked the troops, many of whom died from diseases or were permanently disabled.

427. Destruction of the Spanish Fleet. — Santiago surrendered on July 17 but, meanwhile, Admiral Cervera, fearing capture, had decided to leave the harbor. On July 3 he attempted to escape, but was unable to elude the watchful American squadron outside and within a few hours his entire fleet was put out of action. The Spanish gunnery was much inferior to that of the Americans, whose ships came through the fight without injury and with the loss of one man killed and one wounded.

428. The Treaty of Paris. — With the destruction of her fleet Spain was placed beyond the hope of reinforcing her armies in Cuba and knew that she must yield. Preliminary arrangements for peace were made August 12, the day before the capture of Manila; and on December 10 the Treaty of Paris brought the war formally to a close. By its terms Cuba was given its independence, but was to remain temporarily under American control. Porto Rico, which had been occupied in July by an army under General Miles, was transferred to the United States. The island of Guam in the Ladrone group also was given up by Spain, and the Philippine Islands were sold to the United States for \$20,000,000.

429. Our Relations with Cuba. — At the beginning of the Spanish War the United States pledged itself to withdraw from Cuba when that island became independent of Spain and was able to set up a government of its own. The pledge was kept, and, when the newly organized Republic of Cuba chose Thomas Estrada Palma as its first President, the American military control of the island came to an end, May 20, 1902. One noteworthy result of the American occupation was the removal of the scourge of yellow fever through the discovery by army surgeons that the dread disease is transmitted only by the mosquito. The discovery has proved of wonderful value throughout the tropics.

Disorder broke out once more in Cuba in 1906, and for three years the United States was compelled to assume the administration of Cuban affairs. Since 1909 the Cuban Republic has made considerable progress in orderly government.

430. The Philippines under American Rule. — When the American forces reached the Philippines, they found the natives anxious to throw off Spanish rule and for a time the Filipino insurgents and the Americans joined forces against the Spaniards. But as it became evident that the United States intended to retain control of the islands, the Filipinos assumed a hostile attitude and in February, 1899, attacked the American army in Manila. The struggle, thus begun, went on for nearly three years, during which the United States steadily extended its military control throughout the islands.

For some time after the American occupation the civil government of the islands was intrusted to a Philippine Commission, at the head of which, for a number of years, was William H. Taft, afterwards President of the United States. Under the Commission's direction thirty-five prov-

inces were created for administrative purposes, and a beginning was made in extending self-government to the Christian inhabitants of the islands, who numbered 7,000,000 in a total population of 7,600,000. In 1902 an Act of Congress provided for a census to be taken and authorized the establishment of a Philippine legislative assembly to consist of two houses, the lower house to be elected by Filipinos and the upper house to be the Philippine Commission. The first election was held in 1907, when somewhat more than 100,000 Filipinos were entitled to vote. In the lower house of the assembly the Filipinos divided into two parties, one anxious for immediate independence and the other willing to remain under American authority.

From the time of Magellan's visit to the Philippines, Catholic missionaries had undertaken the Christianization of the Filipinos, who are the only Oriental people that have become predominantly Christian.

Under American rule a great deal of money has been expended in making improvements in sanitation, in fostering education, and in developing the resources of the country. The products of the islands were not given free access to American markets, though in 1909 hemp and a limited amount of sugar and tobacco were admitted free of duty and in 1913 further concessions were made.

431. The Second Election of McKinley (1900).— Many persons in the United States opposed the retention of the Philippines and attacked the McKinley administration for what they called its policy of imperialism and expansion. The Republicans renominated the President in the campaign of 1900, and the Democrats again nominated Mr. Bryan. "Imperialism" was the chief subject of discussion as the election approached, and the American people showed

at the polls that they were favorable to the McKinley policy of expansion. The President received 292 electoral votes and Mr. Bryan 155.

432. The Murder of McKinley; Roosevelt Becomes President. — President McKinley had completed but a few months of his second term when he was shot down by an insane anarchist while attending the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. After lingering for a few days he died, September 14, 1901. In the presence of death the enmities of politics were forgotten and the whole country mourned the loss of the kindly gentleman who had been its President.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt, the Vice-President, who now succeeded to the presidency, although only forty-three years of age had already distinguished himself in many fields. As a young man just out of college he became known as a reformer in the New York legislature. Later he was appointed by President Harrison as Civil Service Commissioner, and in that office did much to extend the use of the merit system in making Federal appointments. As already noted, he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy before the outbreak of the Spanish War and had brought the sea forces of the nation to a high state of efficiency. He resigned from the Navy Department to help organize a cavalry regiment for service in Cuba and later became its colonel. This regiment, popularly known as the "Rough Riders," though it served on foot in Cuba, took a prominent part in the fighting at Santiago. Colonel Roosevelt returned home to be elected

Governor of New York in 1898, and two years later he was chosen Vice-President of the United States. In the midst of his very active life he had found time to publish numerous books, especially in the field of American history.

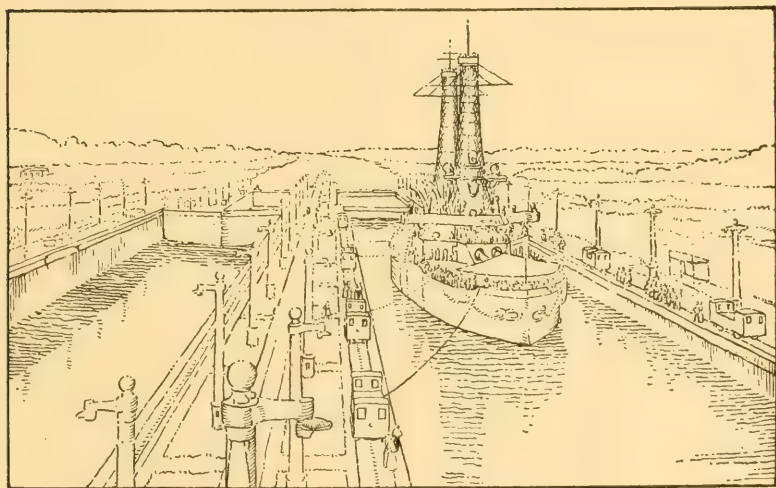
433. The Panama Canal. — The long voyage of the *Oregon* in the early days of the Spanish war renewed American interest in an interoceanic waterway, and it fell to President Roosevelt to prepare the way for the building of the Panama Canal. Under the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, the United States would have to share with Great Britain the control of any canal it might build on the Isthmus; but the American people now insisted on complete American control of the proposed waterway and asked for the abrogation of the old treaty. In November, 1901, John Hay, Roosevelt's Secretary of State, secured a new treaty from Lord Pauncefote, the British Ambassador at Washington, by which Great Britain gave up her former rights.

Having settled the British claims, the United States undertook to secure the right of way for the canal. Two routes were considered, one across Nicaragua, the other at Panama. Opinion favored the Panama route, where a French company, which had begun work in 1883 and had sunk many millions of dollars in the enterprise, was anxious to sell its rights for \$40,000,000. Colombia, to which Panama belonged, also seemed willing to lease the necessary ground for the canal; but, after negotiations which continued throughout 1902, the terms offered by the United States were rejected by the Colombian Congress.

The people of Panama were anxious to see the work of digging begin and in November, 1903, revolted against Colombia and set up the Republic of Panama. President

Roosevelt at once recognized the new Republic and interfered by force to prevent Colombia from putting down the revolt. The Panama Republic ceded to the United States a strip of land ten miles wide extending across the Isthmus, for which they were to be paid \$10,000,000 down and \$2,500,000 a year, beginning in 1913.

In May, 1904, the United States began the work of excavation, which was pushed forward vigorously to completion.



GATUN LOCK, PANAMA CANAL

The canal was ready for use in 1914, and the next year its formal opening was celebrated by the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco.

434. International Arbitration; the Pious Fund. — Besides the negotiations with Colombia and Panama other diplomatic questions of importance occupied the attention of President Roosevelt. In 1902, under his direction, the United States brought before the Permanent

Court of Arbitration of The Hague, established by the nations of the world in 1899, the first case it was called upon to decide, a case relating to the Pious Fund of the Californias. The Pious Fund consisted of moneys collected in Mexico about the year 1700, the interest of which was to be used for the support of Catholic missions in Upper and Lower California. In 1842 the Mexican government took over the Pious Fund and, when Upper California became a part of the United States, had ceased to make payments from the Fund for the benefit of the missions. In 1869 the United States, in behalf of the Catholic bishops of California, asked Mexico to make an accounting. The matter remained in dispute until finally settled at The Hague (October, 1902), when the contention of the United States was upheld, and Mexico was required to pay up the past interest and continue the annual payments in the future.

435. The Alaska Boundary. — The boundary separating Alaska from the Dominion of Canada was described in a treaty made in 1825 between Russia and Great Britain but was not surveyed at that time. When rich gold mines were opened in the valley of the Yukon and thousands of miners appeared in that region in 1897, a boundary dispute arose involving the control of Skaguay and other seaports which offered the most convenient means of access to the new gold fields. In 1903 the dispute was given into the hands of a board of arbitration, which consisted of three Americans, an Englishman, and two Canadians. The English member was convinced that the American claims were sound, and the United States won most of the points in dispute.

436. The Peace of Portsmouth (1905). — Through the good offices of President Roosevelt, representatives of

Japan and Russia met in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to conclude a treaty of peace (August, 1905) and to bring to an end the war which they had waged for control of Manchuria and Korea. Throughout the war American sympathy had been given to Japan, but the treaty of peace was not so favorable to that nation as her people had been led to expect and there was a disposition among the Japanese to blame the President for the failure of Japanese diplomacy. As a result much anti-American feeling was created in Japan.

437. Chinese Exclusion. — In the gold-mining days of California the Chinese had begun coming in fairly large numbers to the western coast of the United States. An agitation on the part of American workingmen against their admission led to the Exclusion Act of 1882 by which Chinese laborers were forbidden to enter the United States for a period of ten years. At the end of that period a new act, the Geary Law, was passed enforcing the exclusion for another ten-year period, and finally, in 1902, the exclusion of Chinese laborers was extended indefinitely.

438. Japanese Exclusion Demanded. — In the early years of the present century, Japanese immigrants arrived in considerable numbers and an agitation against their admission developed on the coast as in the case of the Chinese. The anti-Japanese movement became specially strong in San Francisco, where, in 1906, the city school board ordered that Japanese pupils be taught in schools attended exclusively by Orientals.

The Japanese government pointed out that under its treaties with the United States, Japanese citizens were entitled to the same treatment as the citizens of other foreign countries, and asked President Roosevelt to see that Japanese rights in California were protected. In 1907 an agreement

was reached by which Japan undertook to prevent the emigration of Japanese laborers to the United States, and San Francisco promised to permit Japanese pupils under sixteen years of age to attend the regular schools. The incident created a great deal of ill-feeling in both countries and for a time there was talk of war.

439. The Navy Goes Round the World. — The war talk was still heard when President Roosevelt in December, 1907, started the entire fighting strength of the Navy from Hampton Roads around South America to the Pacific. When the ships reached the western coast of the United States, he ordered them to continue their practice cruise round the world. The fleet visited Australia and Japan and made its way home through the Suez Canal.

Vocabulary

arbitrate

yellow peril

Map Exercises

On a large scale map of Central America, locate exactly the Panama Canal, and notice the direction a boat travels in passing from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Questions

1. How did the Monroe Doctrine come up for consideration in 1895?
2. In what way was the outcome of this affair remarkable?
3. What are the chief industries of Hawaii? What is its greatest value at present to the United States?
4. Was there sufficient ground for the Spanish War of 1898?
5. Did any good come from the war to us or our neighbors?
6. Do not fail to notice the connection between the Spanish War and the building of the Panama Canal.
7. Have the Philippines prospered under the rule of the United States?
8. Was our method of getting land for the Panama Canal strictly honorable?
9. What do you consider the chief value of the Canal to the United States?
10. What important diplomatic questions were settled during Roosevelt's administration?

CHAPTER XXV

OUR OWN TIMES

THE SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF ROOSEVELT AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF TAFT

440. Roosevelt's Attitude toward the Trusts. — The Spanish-American War and its problems turned public attention away from the trust question for a time, but the formation of trusts continued with vigor, the great business combinations becoming not merely more numerous but larger and more powerful. President Roosevelt was of the opinion that business concentration had come to stay and that the government should regulate the great corporations rather than attempt to destroy them. Accordingly, in his first message to Congress, December, 1901, he asked for an administrative department to take up the regulation of the trusts. A little over a year later, February, 1903, Congress established the Department of Commerce and Labor in which a Bureau of Corporations was created with authority to investigate the trusts.

441. The Anthracite Coal Strike (1902). — The President's efforts at trust regulation brought him a great deal of popular support, and his popularity was increased by his interference in the great strike in the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania in 1902. The strike, which began in May, threatened a coal famine as winter approached, and the President felt that the situation called for his intervention.

In a conference at the White House between the mine owners and John Mitchell, the miners' leader, Roosevelt compelled the owners to agree to arbitration. The men went back to work and the next spring a commission appointed by the President awarded them a ten per cent increase in wages.

442. Election of Roosevelt (1904). — Though opposed for his attitude toward the trusts and labor by many business men who were prominent in his own party, Roosevelt was nominated for the Presidency in 1904. His Democratic opponent was Alton B. Parker of New York. The personal popularity of the President won him much Democratic support, giving him the electoral votes of every northern and western state and of Missouri in the South. After his election he announced that under no circumstances would he be a candidate or accept another nomination. He regarded his first three and a half years in the White House as his first term and wished to conform to what he called the "wise custom" of limiting a President to two terms.

443. The Hepburn Rate Bill (1906). — Along with the discussion of the trust evil, there went a renewed interest in the abuses of railway management. President Roosevelt helped to direct attention to these abuses; and in 1905 a new investigation of the railroads was undertaken by Congress. Many unfair and dishonest practices were brought to light, which Congress, in 1906, sought to prevent by the passage of the Hepburn Rate Bill. This measure empowered the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix maximum rates and to compel the railroads to adopt uniform methods of bookkeeping. It forced the railroads to open their rate schedules for public inspection and forbade them to issue passes, by means of which they often gained the

support of congressmen, judges, and other public officials. The Hepburn Act has enabled the Commission to prevent much of the discrimination in rates that formerly existed.

444. The Pure Food Law. — Congress performed another important service in 1906 by providing for government inspection of meats and prohibiting the adulteration and misbranding of other food products and drugs. Investigations had shown that the meat-packers conducted their industry in a most unsanitary manner, that poisonous preservatives were used by many manufacturers of food products and that adulteration and false labeling were common in the preparation of both foods and drugs for the market. A campaign of education undertaken by newspapers and magazines throughout the country stirred up popular interest in pure food and aided the government in its work for the preservation of public health.

445. Conservation of Natural Resources. — In the early years of the present century the American people began to realize that the land and mineral and forest wealth of the country had largely passed into private hands, and they were led by the increasing cost of living to desire to take better care of the natural resources that remained under public control. President Roosevelt took a sympathetic interest in the demand for conservation and in May, 1908, presided over a White House conference at which members of the Cabinet, of the Supreme Court, of Congress, thirty-three Governors of states, and many private citizens were present. This gathering gave new vigor to the conservation movement, which seeks to prevent the waste of lumber, coal, and other products, to reclaim waste lands by irrigation and drainage, and to promote inland navigation and develop the country's wealth in water power.

446. Oklahoma Becomes a State. — A part of the original region of Indian Territory, from which the Indians had withdrawn, was opened to settlement in 1889 and made into Oklahoma Territory the next year. The extension of railroad building in the Southwest brought many settlers into the Territory and a demand for statehood arose. In 1907 Oklahoma, with which Indian Territory was united, was admitted to the Union.

447. The Election of Taft (1908). — The Republican Party in 1908 nominated as its candidate for the presidency



WILLIAM H. TAFT

Roosevelt's Secretary of War, William H. Taft, who had formerly been Governor of the Philippines. The Democrats once more named William J. Bryan, who had been their candidate in 1896 and 1900. The Republicans were successful, Taft receiving 321 electoral votes and Bryan 162.

448. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff (1909). — President Taft, immediately upon his inauguration, called Congress in special session to revise the tariff,

in accordance with a promise made in the Republican platform. A great number of men inside the Republican Party, especially in the farming states of the Middle West, were opposed to the high duties of the Dingley Tariff and wished a substantial reduction of many of the rates; but the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, which was adopted in the summer of 1909, failed to satisfy the demand, and they revolted against the leaders of their party who had forced the measure through Congress. President Taft, by praising the new tariff as the best the country had ever had, also won the

opposition of the Insurgents, as the dissatisfied Republicans were called.

449. Progressive Republican League. — Other questions besides the tariff served to divide the Republican ranks. The Insurgents in the House of Representatives declared that too much power was exercised by Cannon, Speaker of the House from 1903 to 1911, and they united with the Democrats to take from him much of his authority. Difficulties arose in the Department of the Interior over the National Forest policy of the Government and the control of valuable coal lands in Alaska. President Taft upheld his Secretary of the Interior, Ballinger, who dismissed from the service the Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, a close personal friend of Roosevelt. The Insurgents took up the defense of Pinchot while Roosevelt's friends denounced Taft for what they called an abandonment of the Roosevelt policy of conservation. The split in the Republican Party permitted the Democrats to gain control of the House of Representatives in the Congressional elections of 1910. The next year the Insurgents organized the Progressive Republican League for the purpose of defeating the re-nomination of Taft and making one of their own leaders President.

450. Postal Savings Banks ; Parcel Post. — At the recommendation of President Taft, Congress gave authority to the Post Office Department to open postal savings banks, beginning January 1, 1911. Two years later, January 1, 1913, the Post Office began the operation of a parcel post system, under which the size and weight of packages carried by mail were greatly increased.

451. The Children's Bureau ; the Department of Labor. — In 1912 a Children's Bureau was created in the Depart-

ment of Commerce and Labor for the purpose of promoting the welfare of children. It reports on the condition of children in factories, on the regulations made by various states to guard children's health, and on other matters pertaining to children.

The next year the Children's Bureau and the bureaus relating to labor, immigration, and naturalization were removed from the control of the Department of Commerce and Labor and given into the hands of the newly created Department of Labor. The Secretary of the new department was empowered to appoint commissioners of conciliation to secure settlements of labor disputes.

452. Arizona and New Mexico Made States. — The last of the Territories in continental United States, Arizona and New Mexico, were admitted into the sisterhood of states in 1912. Though the last to be admitted to the Union these territories were among the first visited by white men, the Franciscan Friar Marcos traversing the region in 1539, and Coronado coming the next year on his famous expedition.

453. Two Constitutional Amendments. — An income tax was levied in Cleveland's second administration, but the Supreme Court held it to be a direct tax and, therefore, unconstitutional unless apportioned among the states according to population. Many persons, however, continued to demand a tax on incomes, and President Taft urged a constitutional amendment permitting such a tax. The Sixteenth Amendment, designed to authorize an income tax, was proposed by Congress and accepted by three fourths of the states. It was declared a part of the Constitution February 25, 1913.

Another constitutional amendment proposed during Taft's presidency was one providing for the direct election of

United States Senators. It also was accepted by the necessary number of states and was declared a part of the Constitution May 31, 1913, some weeks after Taft left office.

454. The Presidential Campaign of 1912. — The Insurgent movement, which continued to grow during the second half of the Taft administration, was reinforced by Colonel Roosevelt, who, on his return in June, 1910, from a long stay abroad, joined the anti-Taft forces. For a time the Progressive Republicans urged the candidacy of their chief leader in the Senate, Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, but in the early months of 1912 they induced Roosevelt to offer himself once more as a candidate for the Republican nomination.

When the Republican convention met in Chicago in June, 1912, it renominated President Taft after a bitter contest in which the friends of Roosevelt declared that they were defeated by unfair means. At the conclusion of the convention the Roosevelt forces decided to organize a new party. Six weeks later the Progressive Party, as the new organization was called, nominated Roosevelt for the presidency.

The Democrats, largely through the influence of William J. Bryan, chose as their standard-bearer, Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, formerly President of Princeton University.



WOODROW WILSON

The division in the ranks of the Republicans gave the Democrats an easy victory, Wilson receiving 435 electoral votes, Roosevelt 88, and Taft 8. The Socialists who had

been growing in numbers for some years polled a popular vote of nearly 900,000.

455. Tariff Revision. — In accordance with the party promises, President Wilson, shortly after his inauguration, called Congress in special session to revise the tariff. The Underwood Tariff, which became a law in October, 1913, effected a reduction in the rates on many articles and provided for an income tax.

This session of Congress was marked by the reversal of an old custom when President Wilson appeared before the Houses in joint session to read his message instead of sending it, as all the Presidents from Jefferson's time to his own had done.

456. The Currency and Banking Law. — In December, 1913, a Currency and Banking Law was passed, setting up a Federal Reserve Board with power to regulate the issue of Bank Notes and so to provide currency in larger or smaller quantities as the fluctuations in business conditions might demand. It is thought that the Currency and Banking Act will do much to prevent financial panics.

457. Federal Trade Commission. — To aid in the regulation of trusts, Congress, in 1914, established a Federal Trade Commission with the power of investigation formerly exercised by the Bureau of Corporations and with the duty of preventing unfair competition. The same year the Clayton Anti-Trust Act was passed to strengthen the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890.

458. Woman Suffrage. — A movement in favor of giving women the right to vote has been growing in recent years. Wyoming, upon its admission into the Union in 1890, granted the full right of voting to women, Colorado followed three years later, and Utah and Idaho in 1896.

It was not until many years later, in 1910, that another state, Washington, granted woman suffrage. In 1911 California gave women the vote, in 1912 three other states, Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon, followed her example, and in 1913 Illinois adopted woman suffrage, though in Illinois the right of women to vote does not extend to all the state offices. In 1914 Montana and Nevada joined the growing list of woman suffrage states.

New York in 1917, and Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota in 1918, gave women the full rights of suffrage. In Nebraska, North Dakota, and Rhode Island women may vote for presidential electors and in other states they have the right of voting in school or municipal elections. In the presidential campaign of 1916 the platforms of both of the leading political parties favored woman suffrage and a vigorous movement has been started to secure a woman suffrage amendment to the federal constitution.

459. Extension of Popular Government. — From the early days of our government it has been customary to submit to a popular vote the ratification of state constitutions and constitutional amendments. Likewise in many states questions of liquor licensing, important bond issues, and other matters of general interest have been decided by a direct vote of the people. In recent years there has been a growing sentiment in favor of an even wider extension of popular control over legislation. Many states have adopted what are known as the *referendum* and the *initiative*. Where the referendum is in use a certain number of voters (usually five per cent) by petition may prevent an act passed by the legislature from going into effect until ratified by the people. In accordance with the initiative private citizens may frame a bill and if they are sufficiently

numerous they may have their measure submitted to the voters without waiting for the legislature to act. Another attempt to keep political power in the hands of the voters has been the adoption of the primary nominating election by means of which the voters in each party name their candidates for office instead of leaving the choice to a decision of party convention. The nominating election has been adopted by more than three fourths of the states.

460. Democracy and America. — Besides seeking greater popular control of governmental affairs the American people are asking their government to serve them in new ways. Popular education is extended by the establishment of public libraries, night schools, and other means by which those who have passed the usual school age may continue to educate themselves for their own benefit and the general good of the community. Information gathered by the departments of the Federal government is put at the disposal of the people in a variety of ways. From the Department of Agriculture the farmer or fruit grower may secure information which makes his work more efficient. The mother of a family may have from the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor advice about the feeding and care of children. Local health officers may make use of the United States Public Health Service, which has succeeded in recent years in suppressing yellow fever in the South, has aided in controlling other dangerous diseases, and which constantly seeks to educate the public as to the means of conserving the general health. It is because of these and many other services which aid in making life more wholesome that the American citizen likes to say that his government is truly democratic — not only a government by the people but a government for the people.

461. Mexican Affairs. — The Wilson Administration throughout its course had to deal with a difficult situation in Mexico, where a revolution in 1911 had driven from the presidency Porfirio Diaz, who had been in power for many years. His successor was Francisco Madero, who in turn was compelled to resign (February 1913), and was succeeded by Victoriano Huerta. Four days after his resignation Madero was shot and it was charged that he had been murdered by order of Huerta.

When Mr. Wilson succeeded to the presidency in March, 1913, he believed Huerta guilty and refused to recognize him as President of Mexico. A Constitutional Party, led by Generals Carranza and Villa, organized a new revolution which secured the sympathy of President Wilson, who (February, 1914) permitted the Constitutionalists to buy arms and ammunition in the United States. A few weeks later United States marines were arrested by the Huerta government at Tampico and when the full reparation which President Wilson demanded was refused, the United States seized the Mexican port of Vera Cruz, which it held until the following October. Huerta resigned in July, but Carranza, who proclaimed himself President, was soon at war with Villa. Thus the anarchy of the country continued, with a consequent loss of life and property in which Americans suffered.

Great pressure was brought to bear on President Wilson to intervene in Mexican affairs by armed force but he refused, hoping that Carranza could restore order. In October, 1915, the United States and the principal countries of South America recognized Carranza as Provisional President of Mexico.

462. Danger of War. — On March 9, 1916, Columbus, New Mexico, where a small detachment of American troops

had been placed, was attacked by Villa, who killed a score of citizens and soldiers and burned and looted a number of buildings. A punitive expedition was organized which within a few days entered Mexico "to capture Villa dead or alive," as it was said. The hunt for Villa was unsuccessful, and in June Carranza demanded the withdrawal of the American troops which had penetrated two hundred miles into Mexican territory. President Wilson refused the demand and (June 18) called out almost the entire National Guard for service on the border. War seemed imminent, but in the face of the warlike activities of the United States, Carranza changed his mind and asked for a peaceful adjustment of his differences with this country. The American forces were withdrawn early in 1917.

In spite of the promises of Carranza, a great deal of disorder continued to prevail in Mexico; murder and robbery were common and churches and other religious institutions were looted. The widespread destruction and confiscation of property held by foreigners created many difficulties between Mexico and foreign governments.

463. Other Latin-American Relations and Purchase of the Virgin Islands.—In the early years of the present century President Roosevelt had found it necessary to protect the republic of Venezuela from its European creditors, particularly Great Britain and Germany, who wanted to seize the Venezuelan customhouses. For a similar reason, in 1907 he secured a treaty enabling him to take over the management of the finances of the republic of Santo Domingo, which occupies the eastern portion of the island of Haiti. Owing to continued revolutionary outbreaks in the republic, President Wilson in 1916 established martial law in Santo Domingo and appointed an American naval

officer as military governor of the republic. In the same year the United States had to interfere by military force in the affairs of the republic of Haiti; as in the case of Santo Domingo a treaty was secured which gave the United States supervision of Haiti's finances.

Early in 1917 the United States received from Denmark the Danish West Indies, or the Virgin Islands, for which the sum of \$25,000,000 was paid. One reason for acquiring the islands was to prevent their falling into the hands of an unfriendly power, and another was that the possession of their excellent harbors would aid in the naval defense of the Panama Canal.

The relations of the United States with Mexico and other Latin American republics led to a feeling of fear among our Southern neighbors that the United States was bent upon acquiring territory at their expense, though President Wilson took pains to reassure them. Within a few days after his first inauguration he issued a statement declaring that it was our country's purpose to "cultivate the friendship and deserve the confidence of our sister republics of Central and South America." It was in accordance with this purpose that he invited the three chief South American republics, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (the A. B. C. powers, as they were called), to meet in conference on the Mexican problem at Niagara Falls in 1914.

THE UNITED STATES AS A NEUTRAL IN THE GREAT WAR

464. War in Europe. — American interest in Mexican affairs was early overshadowed by the Great War which began in Europe in August, 1914. Many causes, with their roots deep in the past, helped to bring on the war, but its

coming at that moment was associated with the murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne. The Austrian government charged the neighboring kingdom of Serbia with having had a hand in the crime and, refusing to listen to Serbian explanations, declared war (July 28, 1914), just a month after the murder.

Such a declaration was bound to bring on a general war. Russia, long the friend of Serbia, made military preparations against Austria; Germany, Austria's powerful neighbor and ally, answered by declaring war on Russia (August 1). Two days later Germany was at war with France, the ally of Russia. The German leaders, believing that the quickest way to strike France was through Belgium, committed the great wrong of attacking that neutral country. Public opinion in England was stirred by the invasion of Belgium, and the British government, which already had pledged itself to defend France from a German naval attack, formally declared war on Germany (August 4). The struggle which the world had long feared had come at last and proved to be the most destructive which history records.

465. Neutrality Proclaimed. — The United States had drawn millions of its people from the warring nations and naturally many in this country expressed sympathy for one side or the other in the conflict. The great mass of Americans, however, loyally followed the leadership of President Wilson who, on August 18, 1914, issued a proclamation of neutrality in which he asked his fellow-countrymen to be neutral in fact as well as in name, to be impartial in thought as in action. At that time it was generally felt that the United States should avoid taking any part in the great struggle.

466. War Disturbs American Business. — But no matter how anxious the American people might be to remain mere

spectators of the war, they soon found that it interfered seriously in their daily life. In particular, their foreign commerce was greatly disturbed. American trade with some of the European countries was practically cut off, and with others it was greatly reduced in volume. On the other hand, a vast demand arose for American manufactures of arms and ammunition, motor cars, and other products of use in modern warfare. Copper, zinc, and other minerals rose in value, bringing marked prosperity to mine-owners and high wages in the mining regions. The closing of the Straits of the Dardanelles to Russian commerce led to a shortage of the regular supply of wheat in Western Europe and the people of that region were anxious to get larger supplies of American wheat. The price of wheat was greatly increased and the price of other food products rose also, benefiting the American farmer but resulting in a general increase in the cost of living. The enormous demand for ships to be used in the war trade raised ocean freight rates and injured many of the peace industries, which found it difficult to secure water transportation.

467. British Interference with American Commerce. — The war raised diplomatic questions of grave concern to the United States as a neutral power. The great British navy soon established its supremacy and practically swept the commerce of its enemies from the ocean. It set up a blockade of German ports and sought, by a thorough search of neutral ships, to prevent contraband goods from reaching Germany. To the United States, however, it seemed that both in the matter of the blockade and in the searching of neutral ships, especially in its interference with neutral mails, Great Britain went far beyond her rights under international law. President Wilson protested vigorously

but without great effect. In the summer of 1916 the British government "blacklisted" large numbers of American firms which, it said, were engaged in trading with enemies of Great Britain. British subjects were forbidden to do business with the firms on the blacklist. The President insisted that the blacklist was an invasion of American rights and Congress authorized him to retaliate against the commerce of foreign nations which prohibited the importation of goods from the United States.

468. German Submarine Warfare. — What proved to be a much more serious matter was the use which the German Empire made of the submersible torpedo boat, a new engine of war. Before the conflict was many months old, Germany announced that it would reply to the British blockade by sinking British merchant vessels wherever its submarines found them. Under the rule of international law, which had long been followed, such a policy would be unlawful unless the passengers and crew were first taken care of and that the submarine would usually be unable to do. In the pursuit of its policy Germany destroyed merchant vessels on which American passengers lost their lives. The most horrifying act of destruction was that of the *Lusitania*, a great British passenger ship, which was torpedoed off the coast of Ireland on May 7, 1915, thereby causing the death of more than 1100 persons, of whom over one hundred were American citizens.

President Wilson at once protested against an act which deeply stirred the anger of the American people. In the following months Germany promised to modify its submarine policy to meet the President's demands. Nevertheless, a warlike spirit began to arise throughout the United States.

469. National Defense. — The Mexican crisis and the Great War turned the attention of the country to the question of national defense, and in August, 1916, the Army was reorganized, provision being made for a large increase in the Regular Army and the creation of an important reserve force. A few weeks later Congress adopted a great naval building program providing for the expenditure within three years of \$600,000,000 for new ships alone, the greatest naval appropriation ever made by any country in time of peace.

470. New Taxation. — To meet the expenses of the enlarged measures of defense Congress found it necessary to provide added revenues. The income tax was greatly increased, a graduated tax was levied on inheritances of \$50,000 or more, a license tax was placed on the capital stock of large corporations, and the profits from the manufacture of war munitions were heavily taxed.

The war suspended the importation of German dyestuffs and American manufacturers were compelled to develop dye industries at home. To encourage the new industries increased duties were levied on dyestuffs. Congress also created a nonpartisan Tariff Commission to study tariff matters and advise Congress concerning them.

471. Other Legislation of 1916. — The first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, which lasted until September, 1916, saw the enactment of much important legislation besides that connected with foreign affairs and national defense.

The Philippine Commission was abolished and in its place a Senate chosen by the Filipinos was set up.

Two laws of special value to farmers were the Farm Loans Act, giving governmental assistance in procuring long-term loans for farm improvements at comparatively low rates

of interest, and the Federal Aid Road Act, offering the coöperation of the Department of Agriculture with the States in constructing rural roads.

A Child Labor Act excluded from interstate commerce the products of mills and factories employing children under fourteen years of age. (This act was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1918.)

A Workmen's Compensation Act provided sickness and accident benefits for Federal employees and benefits to dependents in case of death. A Railroad Eight-hour Day Law, to take effect January 1, 1917, was passed to prevent a strike of 400,000 railroad trainmen throughout the country. By its terms an eight-hour day was established as the standard for reckoning wages of railroad employees operating trains in interstate commerce.

472. Presidential Nominations in 1916. — As the time approached for making the party nominations for the presidency in 1916, the new army and navy bills had not been passed and Colonel Roosevelt appeared as an active candidate for the Republican nomination on a platform of "preparedness" and a more vigorous foreign policy. However, since the political wounds made by his withdrawal from the Republican Party in 1912 had not been completely healed, the Republicans passed him by and nominated Charles E. Hughes of New York, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Roosevelt was nominated by the Progressives but declined to run and, with most of the Progressive leaders, supported the Republican candidate. President Wilson was renominated by the Democrats without opposition.

473. Reëlection of President Wilson. — In the campaign which followed much attention was given to the President's

foreign policy, his opponents proclaiming that it had been lacking in vigor, while his friends praised him because, as they said, "he kept us out of war." Other issues were debated, including the Railroad Eight-hour Law, the tariff, and woman suffrage. When the votes were counted, showing that the President had been reëlected by a narrow margin, it was seen that his victory was due in considerable measure to the support of the Progressives, who refused to return to the Republican Party. On account of his attitude toward labor and his efforts to keep the country out of war, many Socialists supported the President and the vote of that party fell very much below what it had been four years previously.

474. The President's Peace Move. — Not only did the President wish to keep this country out of war but he was anxious to act as peacemaker for the warring nations of Europe. Accordingly, on December 18, 1916, he sent to the belligerent governments a note asking for the terms upon which they would be willing to make peace. A few weeks later (January 22, 1917), in an address to the United States Senate, the President outlined his views of a just peace. If governments everywhere were based on the consent of the governed, if "freedom of the seas" and a limitation of armaments were secured, he declared that the United States would be willing to join a League of Nations to prevent future wars.

475. Germany's Unrestricted Submarine Warfare. — Discussions of peace were soon interrupted by Germany's announcement that on February 1, 1917, unrestricted submarine warfare would begin in the seas around Great Britain, France, and Italy. President Wilson at once gave his passports to Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador,

and withdrew the American Ambassador from Berlin. He was still anxious to avoid war and expressed the hope that the German government would not challenge the United States by "acts of wilful injustice."

That government, however, was willing to risk war with the United States and immediately began to sink merchant vessels on a greater scale than before.

The President took steps to arm American merchant ships and directed the Secretary of War to make preparations for the conflict which seemed inevitable. The feeling of the country grew warlike, especially upon the publication of a letter from the German Foreign Secretary to the German Minister in Mexico proposing an alliance between Germany and Mexico in case the United States entered the war. The publication also of evidence showing a connection between German agents and attempts to destroy bridges, munition plants, and ships in the United States caused great indignation.

THE UNITED STATES AT WAR

476. War Is Declared. — On April 2, 1917, President Wilson appeared before Congress, which he had called in special session, and asked for a declaration of war against Germany, the recruiting of an army of at least a half million men, the full equipment of the navy, and the raising of the necessary funds by taxation and loans.

The President, in his address to Congress, reviewed the new German submarine policy which "without warning and without thought of mercy" for those on board had sent to the bottom "vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their destination, their errand." "The

present German warfare against commerce," he said, "is a warfare against mankind."

With but little opposition, Congress, on April 6, formally declared that a state of war existed between the United States and the Imperial German government. (War was declared on Austria in the following December.)

477. A War for Democracy. — In his address to Congress the President pointed out that the United States had "no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars were used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers, and wars were provoked and waged in the interests of dynasties or little groups of ambitious men."

With regard to America's reason for entering the war the President declared that the United States was fighting "for the ultimate peace of the world . . . for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience. *The world must be made safe for democracy.*"

478. The Government of Germany. — The President's declaration that the world must be made safe for democracy became a rallying-cry, not only in America, but also in the countries with which we became associated in the war. His distinction between the people of Germany and their government was seen to be of constantly increasing importance as the war went on until finally the German people overturned their government in order to secure peace. It is worth our while, therefore, to note in what way the German

government was undemocratic and failed to represent the German people.

The German Empire was made up of over twenty states (kingdoms, dukedoms, principalities, and city republics). By far the most important of these was the Kingdom of Prussia, whose king, by virtue of his office, was German Emperor. As Emperor he chose the Imperial Chancellor, the chief executive officer of the Empire, and through him administered the affairs of the country. The executive department, therefore, was beyond the control of the people. The imperial legislature was composed of the Imperial Council, whose members represented the rulers of the various German states, and of a lower house, or Reichstag, composed of representatives chosen by universal manhood suffrage. The consent of the Reichstag was necessary for the passing of imperial legislation, including taxation, so that in time of peace the popular branch of the legislature exercised a considerable power. But the right of making war was in the hands of the Emperor and Imperial Council and the Emperor was commander-in-chief of the army and navy. Hence war might be started whether or not the people wanted it. It was this undemocratic arrangement which President Wilson had in mind when he made a distinction between the people and the government of Germany.

479. The House of Hohenzollern. — Such irresponsible power in a great state like Germany was likely to be dangerous in any hands, but it was especially so in the hands of the Hohenzollern family, which had built up the Kingdom of Prussia by successful wars during three centuries. War had paid them well. In the eighteenth century, by forcibly annexing lands belonging to their neighbors, they made Prussia one of the great powers of Europe. In the nine-

teenth century they created the German Empire and placed themselves at its head after a series of successful wars in which they overcame Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866, and France in 1870-1871.

In view of these warlike successes it is not to be wondered at that many of the leading men of the Prussian monarchy believed war to be a profitable enterprise. This was particularly true of the great landed proprietors (*Junkers*) from which class came a large proportion of the army officers and who, therefore, had a professional interest in war. Others were led by the teachings of certain scientists to believe that war was a necessary activity of mankind and a means provided by nature to rid the earth of the weak and unsuccessful and to give it into the hands of the strong and capable. War, they said, was "an indispensable factor in civilization."

Americans, under the President's leadership, gradually came to regard the German government as a menace to the world on account of its great military power and its belief in the goodness of war. The people of this country entered the war with the conviction that they were not only defending their rights upon the sea but fighting for the cause of liberty everywhere. This view of the conflict was the more readily grasped because just a few weeks before the American declaration of war the great despotism of the Russian czar had fallen and Russia, which was also fighting Germany, could at last be regarded as battling in the cause of liberty.

THE AMERICAN EFFORT

Having entered the war the United States made ready to bring its vast resources to the aid of those nations which

were with the utmost difficulty holding the great German armies at bay. Men and ships, food and money, were to be provided until victory should be won.

480. Raising an Army. — The number of United States troops available for service abroad was not large but the French military leaders suggested that the presence of even a small American army in France would have a heartening effect on the French army. In response to this suggestion a division of the Regular Army reached France in June, 1917, and was soon followed by regiments of engineers, who went to prepare docks and warehouses in French ports for the accommodation of the great American army that was to follow. General John J. Pershing, who had seen service in the Philippines and more recently in Mexico, was appointed to command the American forces in Europe.

After a brief debate in Congress it was decided to raise the necessary troops by conscription and not to rely on voluntary enlistments. By the Conscription Act of May 18, 1917, men between the ages of 21 and 30, inclusive, were made liable for military service. Under the provisions of the act nearly 10,000,000 men were registered in the following month. Of these 687,000 were called to service and entered the great training cantonments which had been erected hastily in various parts of the country. In the following months others were called until it became necessary (August, 1918) to lower the draft age to 18 years and raise it to 46 in order to secure the needed numbers, but it was not necessary to call these men. Altogether about 4,000,000 men entered the United States service during the war.

481. Federal Control of Prices. — One of the most serious problems for the nations fighting against Germany was the shortage of food, due in large measure to the sinking of

supply ships by German submarines. The United States, on entering the war, undertook to relieve the pressing needs of the peoples of Great Britain, France, and Italy. For that purpose the President was authorized (August 10, 1917) to fix the price of wheat and to regulate the trade in foodstuffs. The government also undertook to fix the price of steel and other supplies which it needed for war purposes, and took over the control of the coal business of the country so that essential war industries might not suffer from a lack of fuel.

The great need of ships led to the adoption of vast ship-building plans which within a year made the United States the largest builder of ships in the world. Before the end of 1917 the growing war needs of the government compelled it to take over the management of the railroads of the country.

482. Paying for the War. — One of the first cares of Congress after the declaration of war was to provide for the nation's financial needs in the great struggle. There was a very general demand that a large part of the war debt should be paid by taxation, especially by taxation on incomes and profits arising from war business. Congress responded favorably to this demand, but, in addition, had to authorize the Administration to borrow vast sums by the sale of interest-bearing bonds. During the war four immense "Liberty Loans" were raised, reaching a total of \$17,000,000,000. The sale of War Savings Stamps also proved popular.

483. The Work of Private Agencies. — In addition to the monies raised by taxation, the American people gave large sums to various private agencies which took care of the needs of the men in the United States service. The

Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and other agencies ministered to the comfort and entertainment of the men in uniform, not only in the home cantonments, but at the front in posts of danger.

484. The Espionage Law. — In order to prevent information of military importance from reaching the enemy, and to prevent enemy agents or others in this country from interfering with the conduct of the war, Congress passed (June, 1917) what was known as the Espionage Act, fixing heavy penalties for acts designed to aid the enemy. Many persons, both aliens and American citizens, were punished for violations of the act.

The power of the Postmaster-general was used by the government to exclude from the mails newspapers and periodicals which were regarded as injurious to the country's cause. It was found that enemy governments had contributed money to various publications in the United States.

485. Talk of Peace; the President's "Fourteen Points." — In the summer of 1917, as the United States prepared to enter the war with all its strength, Russia practically withdrew from the war and in other countries a great weariness of war appeared. Austria made proposals of peace and France showed signs of exhaustion. It was in these circumstances that Pope Benedict XV sent a note (August, 1917) to the belligerent powers, proposing a peace of mutual concessions and the adoption of certain principles which, it might be hoped, would lead to a just and lasting settlement. These principles included disarmament, an international league to enforce arbitration, "freedom of the seas," and the settlement of territorial disputes in accordance with the will of the peoples directly concerned.

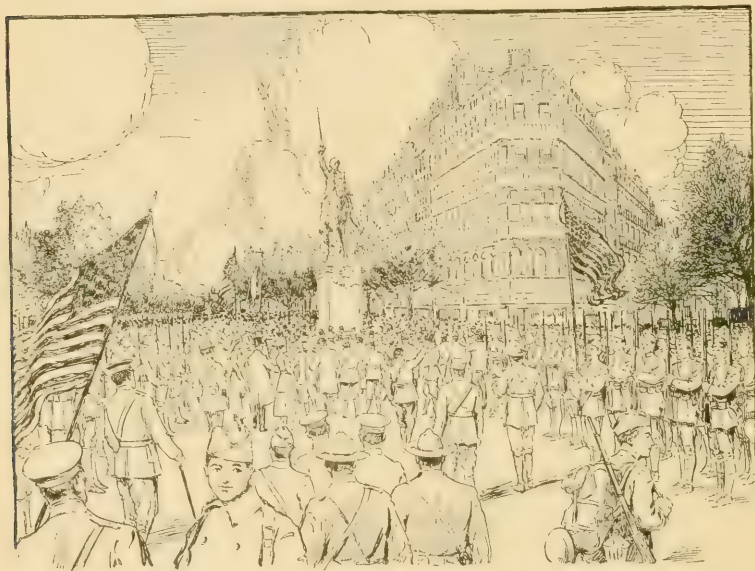
President Wilson in replying declared himself in accord with the principles laid down by the Pope, but because, as he said, "we cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure" he refused to entertain a proposal for peace at that time.

Discussion of peace terms continued throughout the following months and on January 8, 1918, President Wilson delivered an address before Congress in which he outlined the program of the United States in "fourteen points" which at once caught the attention of the world and were, in the end, to become the basis on which peace was actually made. He declared that among the things which the American people wanted were an end of secret diplomacy, freedom of navigation on the seas "alike in peace and war," "equality of trade conditions" among nations, and the reduction of armaments. He then took up in detail various territorial settlements which he thought indispensable and concluded with a demand for "a general association of nations" to guarantee the rights of nations "great and small."

486. America Arrives in Force. — While peace talk went on during the winter months the American army was being trained and, as rapidly as ships could be found, transported to Europe. It was a critical time, for the breakdown of Russia permitted the enemy to withdraw great numbers of veteran troops from eastern Europe and to concentrate them in France in preparation for a tremendous attack which he launched on the British and French armies in March, 1918. General Pershing at once placed the entire American army in France at the disposal of Marshal Foch, who had been agreed upon as commander-in-chief of all the armies fighting against Germany. By this time about 100,000 American troops had been trained sufficiently for

battle action and in the fighting of the weeks following proved their worth.

Early in May General Pershing secured the promise of numerous British ships, thus enabling the American forces



AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN FRANCE, WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY, FEB. 22, 1918

to be moved to France at the rate of a quarter of a million or more each month. By the middle of July the French and British armies, which had been exerting all their strength to stop the mighty German advance upon Paris, were sufficiently reënforced by American troops to strike back at the enemy.

487. Victory in Sight. — On July 18 a great offensive was begun which proved to be a decisive turning-point of the war. The Allied and American armies were now reach-

ing such a superiority over the enemy in numbers of men, in guns, in aircraft, and in supplies of other war material, that they were able not only to compel a widespread retreat of the Germans in France but to undertake offensive action on a large scale against Germany's allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Each of these countries in turn was compelled to accept defeat. Bulgaria withdrew from the war on September 30; Turkey withdrew on October 31; and Austria, on November 4.

An incident of the downfall of Turkey was the liberation of the Holy Land, an event especially pleasing to Christian people. Constantinople likewise again fell into Christian hands for the first time since the days of Columbus.

The destruction of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy permitted the formation of a number of republics in the lands which had been ruled by the Hapsburg royal family for many hundreds of years.

488. The Armistice is Signed; Overthrow of German Empire. — The threat of revolution at home, the defeat of her allies, and the growing military power of her enemies, particularly of the United States, led Germany to ask for peace and to declare that she accepted President Wilson's "fourteen points" and other pronouncements of his as a basis of negotiations. President Wilson referred the German government to the commander-in-chief of the Allied and American forces, General Foch, for the military terms upon which a cessation of the fighting might be secured. As a result, an armistice was signed on the morning of November 11, 1918, and hostilities ceased.

By the terms of the armistice the German fleet was surrendered, as well as the larger part of the German equipment in guns and aircraft, and the German army withdrew

to the east of the Rhine River, which was to be patrolled by the Allied and American forces.

Before the armistice was signed the German Emperor had abdicated and fled to the Netherlands. Within a week the other hereditary rulers in the various German states had likewise abdicated, thus preparing the way for the formation within Germany of a federated republic in place of the Empire.

489. Gains and Losses of the United States. — In announcing the signing of the armistice to the people of the United States President Wilson declared that "everything for which America fought has been accomplished." In the same enlightened spirit which had characterized his utterances throughout the war, he said: "It will now be our fortunate duty to assist, by example, by sober, friendly counsel, and by material aid in the establishment of just democracy throughout the world."

Though the sacrifices of our country in the war were not as great as those of the more important European powers they were nevertheless serious. At the signing of the armistice the United States had in its forces abroad nearly 2,000,000 men, while almost as many more were in training at home. The Navy, which performed an important service in safeguarding the movement of transports and supply ships across the Atlantic, increased its numbers from 65,000 men at the beginning of the war to nearly half a million at its close.

About 50,000 American soldiers were killed in action or died of battle wounds. Two hundred thousand others were wounded more or less severely. The heaviest losses took place in what was known as the Argonne Forest region, where the American forces began fighting on September 26 and continued until the signing of the armistice. A consider-

able portion of the losses was due to the reckless courage of the American soldiers in the face of danger.

The enormous money cost of the war is seen in the rise of the national debt from two billion dollars at the beginning to twenty billion at the end of 1918. Of this great sum eight billions were loaned to European governments and will be repaid in time. The war costs did not cease with the signing of the armistice, for an army of half a million men had to be maintained in Europe for some time and a great deal of money was required to return the other soldiers to their homes. Early in 1919 Congress passed a new revenue law, "the biggest tax bill in American history," designed to raise six billion dollars the first year and four billion each year thereafter.

This revenue measure was the last to draw large sums from the taxation of intoxicating beverages as, by the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, adopted in January, 1919, the manufacture and sale of such beverages was to cease after one year.

490. President Wilson at the Peace Conference. — In his annual message to Congress, delivered December 2, 1918, President Wilson announced his intention to take part in the peace conference which was to assemble in Paris. He was received in France, in England, and in Italy with the utmost enthusiasm as the leader of the nation which had turned the tide of battle at the critical moment, and as the statesman who had outlined the democratic principles upon which a just and permanent peace might be erected.

We have followed the story of our country from its discovery and early colonization to our own time and in im-

agination have seen it grow from a few straggling settlements on the Atlantic seaboard to be a great nation extending from ocean to ocean; a savage wilderness has become the seat of a mighty civilization. While becoming rich and powerful our country has at the same time worked out successfully the world's greatest experiment in democracy. Moreover, from Washington's day to the present, American success in the field of popular government has given hope to the oppressed of other lands and has promoted the spread of democratic ideals elsewhere. The founders and builders of our nation have made us the heirs of a magnificent inheritance and it should be our pride to hand it on undiminished to those who come after us.

The boys and girls who are now studying American history will determine the character of our nation in the future and it will be their duty to preserve America as the home of democracy.

Vocabulary

adulteration
conciliation

conservation
corporation

insurgent
unsanitary

Questions

1. How did President Roosevelt handle the strike situation in 1902?
2. Give the substance of the Hepburn Act.
3. What progress has been made by the campaign for pure foods begun in 1906?
4. What is meant by the conservation movement?
5. How did a split come about in the Republican party in 1910?
6. What is the value of the parcel post?
7. How many stars are there in the flag to-day? Name the five newest states.
8. State the purposes of the sixteenth and seventeenth Amendments to the Constitution.
9. Can you explain the meaning of *referendum*? of *initiative*?
10. What made it necessary for the United States to intervene in Mexican affairs during President Wilson's first administration?
11. How were our differences with the Mexican government

finally adjusted? 12. What action was taken by the United States in respect to the affairs of the Santo Dominican government? 13. How did we secure possession of the Virgin Islands? 14. What was the reason for inviting representatives of the chief South American republics to meet with representatives of the United States government? What did this conference accomplish? 15. State briefly the steps that led to the entrance of the United States into the Great War. 16. How did this country mobilize its forces for the conduct of the war? 17. What were the "fourteen points"?

APPENDIX

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(ADOPTED BY THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, JULY 4TH, 1776.)

In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776. The unanimous declaration of the thirteen united States of America.

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpa-

tions, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage

their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment, for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring them-

selves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely parallel in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the REPRESENTATIVES of the United States of America, in GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies solemnly PUBLISH and DECLARE, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

¹ [*New Hampshire.*]

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

[*Connecticut.*]

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

[*Massachusetts Bay.*]

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

[*New York.*]

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

[*Rhode Island.*]

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

[*New Jersey.*]

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

¹ This arrangement of the names is made for convenience. The States are not mentioned in the original.

[*Pennsylvania.*]

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

[*Delaware.*]

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

[*Maryland.*]

SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL of
Carrollton.

[*Virginia.*]

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, JR.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

[*North Carolina.*]

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

[*South Carolina.*]

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.,
THOMAS LYNCH, JR.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

[*Georgia.*]

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEO. WALTON.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE.
Objects of
the Consti-
tution.

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

CONGRESS.
Two
houses.

Section 2. [1] The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

*House of
Represent-
atives.
Term and
election.*

[2] No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

*Qualifica-
tions —
age, citi-
zenship,
residence.*

[3] [Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.] The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

*Method of
apportion-
ing repre-
sentatives.
(Part in
brackets
super-
seded by
Sec. 2 of
Amend-
ment
XIV.)
Census.*

*Tempo-
rary
appor-
tionment.*

[4] When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

Vacancies.

- Officers.** [5] The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers ; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.
- Senate. Election and term.** *Section 3.* [1] The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years ; and each Senator shall have one Vote.
- Division of Senators into three classes.** [2] Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year ; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.
- Vacancies.**
- Qualifications — age, citizenship, residence.** [3] No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.
- Vice-president.** [4] The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.
- Officers.** [5] The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.
- Trial of impeachments.** [6] The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside : And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

[7] Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Judgment
in cases of
impeach-
ment.

Section 4. [1] The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

*Both
Houses.
Times,
places, and
method of
electing
members.
Time of
meeting.*

[2] The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section 5. [1] Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

*Member-
ship regu-
lations.
Quorum.*

[2] Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

*Rules of
each
house.*

[3] Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Journals.

[4] Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

*Special
adjourn-
ments.*

Members.
Compensation and
privileges
of mem-
bers.

Section 6. [1] The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

Disabili-
ties of
members.

[2] No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

*Bills and
resolu-
tions.* .
Revenue
bills.
Veto of
President
on bills.

Section 7. [1] All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

[2] Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in

like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

[3] Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Veto on
resolu-
tions.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power [1] To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

*Powers of
Congress.*

Taxation.

[2] To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;
[3] To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

Borrow-
ing.
Regulat-
ing
commerce.
Natural-
ization
and bank-
ruptcy.

[4] To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

Coins,
weights,
and
measures.
Counter-
feiting.

[5] To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

[6] To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

Post
offices.
Patents
and copy-
rights.
Inferior
courts.
Piracies.

[7] To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

[8] To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

[9] To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

[10] To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

[11] To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

War.

[12] To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of

Army.

Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years ;

Navy.
Land and
naval
forces.
Militia, in
service.

[13] To provide and maintain a Navy ;

[14] To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces ;

[15] To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions ;

Militia,
organiza-
tion.

[16] To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

Seat of
govern-
ment, and
stations.

[17] To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings ; — And

Supple-
mentary
legisla-
tion.

[18] To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Office thereof.

*Limita-
tions on
powers of
Congress.*

Slave
trade.

Habeas
corpus.
Bills of
attainder
and ex
post facto
laws.

Section 9. [1] The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person. \

[2] The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

[3] No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

[4] No Capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken. Direct tax.

[5] No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State. Tax on exports.

[6] No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another. Uniform commercial regulations.

[7] No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time. Finance.

[8] No title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State. Titles of nobility and presents.

Section 10. [1] No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit, make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility. *Limitations on powers of States.*
Specific prohibitions.

[2] No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress. Limitations on impost.

[3] No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay. Prohibitions removable with consent of Congress.

ARTICLE II.

PRESI-
DENT.
Term.
Presiden-
tial elec-
tors and
method of
choosing
President.

(Part in
brackets
super-
seded by
XII
amend-
ment.)

Section 1. [1] The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows :

[2] Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress : but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector. [The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each ; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed ; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President ; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote ; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of

Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.]

[3] The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States. Dates of elections.

[4] No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States. Qualifications, citizenship, age, and residence.

[5] In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected. Presidential succession.

[6] The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them. Compensation.

[7] Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.” Oath of office.

Section 2. [1] The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual *Powers of President.*

Military,
super-
visory,
and
judicial.

Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

In treaties
and in
appoint-
ments.

[2] He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

Tempo-
rary
appoint-
ments.

[3] The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Legisla-
tive
powers.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Liability
to
impeach-
ment.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

JUDICI-
ARY.
Courts.

Judges :
term and
compen-
sation.

Section 2. [1] The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority ; — to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls ; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction ; — to Controversies to which the United States shall be a party ; — to controversies between two or more States ; — between a State and Citizens of another State ; — between Citizens of different States — between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or subjects.

Jurisdic-
tion.

[2] In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

Original
and
appellate
jurisdic-
tion of
Supreme
Court.

[3] The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury ; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed ; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Jury trial.
Place of
trial.

Section 3. [1] Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall

Treason :
definition,

punish-
ment.

be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

[2] The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

NATION
AND
STATES.

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Interstate
comity.

Interstate
citizen-
ship.

Section 2. [1] The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

Extradition
of
criminals.

[2] A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

Fugitive
slaves.

[3] No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Admission
of new
States.

Section 3. [1] New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

Govern-
ment of
national
territory.

[2] The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing

in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion ; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Protection
of States.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress ; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article ; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

AMEND-
MENT OF
CONSTITU-
TION.

ARTICLE VI.

[1] All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

MISCEL-
LANEOUS.
Preëxist-
ing nation-
al debt.
Suprem-
acy of
Constitu-
tion,
treaties,
and na-
tional law.

[2] This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof ; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land ; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Oaths of
national
and state
officials.

[3] The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

RATIFICA-
TION.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth IN WITNESS whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G^o WASHINGTON -

Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia
[and thirty eight members from all the States except Rhode Island.]

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT
OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND
RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE
SEVERAL STATES PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH
ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

[ARTICLE I ¹]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.	Prohibi- tions on Congress respecting religion, speech, and the press.
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[ARTICLE II ¹]

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.	Right to bear arms.
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[ARTICLE III ¹]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.	Quarter- ing of soldiers.
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[ARTICLE IV ¹]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.	Right of search.
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¹ First ten amendments proposed by Congress, Sept. 25, 1789. Proclaimed to be in force Dec. 15, 1791.

[ARTICLE V ¹]

Protection
of accused
in criminal
cases.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

[ARTICLE VI ¹]

Rights of
accused
regarding
trial.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

[ARTICLE VII ¹]

Jury trial
in law-
suits.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

[ARTICLE VIII ¹]

Bail and
punish-
ment.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

¹ First ten amendments proposed by Congress, Sept. 25, 1789. Proclaimed to be in force Dec. 15, 1791.

[ARTICLE IX ¹]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Unenumerated rights.

[ARTICLE X ¹]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Undelegated powers.

ARTICLE XI ²

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Exemption of States from suit.

ARTICLE XII

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person

New method of electing President.

(To supersede part of Art. II, Sec. 1, cl. 2.)

(Proposed Dec. 12, 1803. Declared in force Sept. 25, 1804.)

¹First ten amendments proposed by Congress, Sept. 25, 1789. Proclaimed to be in force Dec. 15, 1791.

²Proposed September 5, 1794. Declared in force January 8, 1798.

have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII

Abolition
of slavery.
(Proposed
Feb. 1,
1865.
Declared
in force
Dec. 18,
1865.)

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV

Citizens of
the United
States —
protection

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No

State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

of. (Proposed June 16, 1866. Declared in force July 28, 1868.)

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

New basis of representation in Congress. (Superseding part of Art. I, Sec. 2, cl. 3.)

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by two-thirds vote of each House, remove such disability.

Disabilities of officials engaged in rebellion.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither

Validity of war debt.

the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV ¹

Voting
rights of
citizens of
the U. S.

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI ²

Income
tax.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII ³

Direct
election
of senators.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

Method of
election.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of each State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided* that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof

Tempo-
rary
appoint-
ments.

¹ Proposed February 27, 1869. Declared in force March 30, 1870.

² Proposed July 12, 1909. Declared in force February 25, 1913.

³ Proposed June 12, 1912. Declared in force May 13, 1913.

to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

XVIII

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS

PRESIDENTS.	STATE.	Born.	Died.	LENGTH OF SERVICE.	PARTY.	VICE PRESIDENTS.
George Washington	Virginia	1732	1799	2 terms, 1789-1797	(Unanimous)	John Adams
John Adams	Massachusetts	1735	1826	1 term, 1797-1801	Federalists	Thomas Jefferson
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1743	1826	2 terms, 1801-1809	Republicans	Aaron Burr
James Madison	Virginia	1751	1836	2 terms, 1809-1817	Republicans	George Clinton
James Monroe	Virginia	1758	1831	2 terms, 1817-1825	Republicans	Elbridge Gerry
John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	1767	1846	1 term, 1825-1829	House of Representatives	Daniel D. Tompkins
Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	1767	1845	2 terms, 1829-1837	Democrats	John C. Calhoun
Martin Van Buren	New York	1782	1862	1 term, 1837-1841	Democrats	John C. Calhoun
William Henry Harrison	Ohio	1774	1841	1 month, March 4-April 4, 1841.	Democrats	Martin Van Buren
John Tyler	Virginia	1790	1862	3 yrs., 11 mos., 1841-1845	Whigs	Richard M. Johnson
James K. Polk	Tennessee	1795	1849	1 term, 1845-1849	Democrats	John Tyler
Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	1784	1850	1 yr., 4 mos., 5 days, 1849-1850	Whigs	George M. Dallas
Millard Fillmore	New York	1800	1874	2 yrs., 7 mos., 25 days, 1850-1853	Whigs	Millard Fillmore
Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	1804	1869	1 term, 1853-1857	Democrats	William R. King
James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	1791	1868	1 term, 1857-1861	Democrats	John C. Breckenridge
Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	1809	1865	1 term, 1 mo., 10 days, 1861-1865	Republicans	Andrew Johnson
Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	1808	1875	3 yrs., 10 mos., 20 days, 1865-1869	Republicans	Hannibal Hamlin
Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	1822	1885	2 terms, 1869-1877	Republicans	Andrew Johnson
Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	1893	1 term, 1877-1881	Republicans	Schuyler Colfax
James A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	6 mos., 15 days, 1881	Republicans	Henry Wilson
Chester A. Arthur	New York	1830	1886	3 yrs., 5 mos., 15 days, 1881-1885	Republicans	William A. Wheeler
Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	1 term, 1885-1889	Democrats	Chester A. Arthur
Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	1833	1901	1 term, 1889-1893	Republicans	Thomas A. Hendricks
Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	1 term, 1893-1897	Republicans	Levi P. Morton
William McKinley	Ohio	1843	1901	1 term, 1897-1901	Democrats	Adlai E. Stevenson
Theodore Roosevelt	New York	1858	....	1 term, 3 yrs., 5 mos., 20 days, 1901-1909	Republicans	Garret A. Hobart
William H. Taft	Ohio	1857	....	1909-1913	Republicans	Theodore Roosevelt
Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey	1856	....	1913-	Democrats	Charles W. Fairbanks
						James S. Sherman
						Thomas R. Marshall

INDEX

- A. B. C. Conference, at Niagara Falls, 395.
 Abnaki Indians, 40.
 Abolition of slavery, beginning of movement for, 245.
 Acadia, given to de Monts, 24; captured by English, 108; inhabitants expelled, 113-114.
 Accau, Michel, French explorer, 104.
 Act of Uniformity, 67.
 Adams, Charles Francis, 302.
 Adams, John, on Otis' speech, 123; on Lee's resolutions, 142; at peace of Paris, 168; elected President, 198; makes peace with France, 199; defeated by Jefferson, 202.
 Adams, John Quincy, Secretary of State, 233; and Monroe Doctrine, 234; elected President, 237; portrait, 239; defeated by Jackson, 241; in Congress, 247.
 Adams, Samuel, 130, 131, 163.
 Agriculture, extension of, 347; department of, 347-348, 392, 400.
 Alabama, admitted, 230; secedes, 292.
 Alabama, Confederate warship, 302.
 Alabama award, 337.
 Alaska, purchase of, 334; boundary dispute, 380.
 Albany Congress, 111-112, 118.
 Algiers, interferes with American commerce, 205.
 Algonquin Indians, 30-31, 83.
 Alien and Sedition Laws, 200.
 Allen, Ethan, captures Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 139.
 Allouez, Claude, missionary, 42, 102-103.
 Altgeld, governor of Illinois, 365.
 America named, 16-17.
 American Federation of Labor, 351.
 American Revolution, 121-171.
 Anderson, Major Robert, 295.
 Andrew, governor of Massachusetts, 298.
 Andros, Edmund, his rule in Massachusetts, 78-79; governor of New York, 86; portrait, 79.
 Annapolis convention, 176.
 Anthracite Coal Strike, 383.
 Anti-federalists, oppose adoption of the Constitution, 180.
 Anti-masonic Party, 244.
 Anti-slavery Society, 246.
 Anti-trust Act, 354-355, 390.
 Appomattox, 326.
 Arbitration, international, 379.
 Argentina, at Niagara Falls Conference, 395.
 Argonne Forest, American losses in, 412.
 Arizona, admitted, 388; adopts woman suffrage, 391.
 Arkansas, admitted, 265; secedes, 296.
 Armistice, signed with Germany, 411.
 Army, United States, beginnings of, 138; mutiny in, 162, 175; at outbreak of War of 1812, 216; strength of, fixed, 225; in Mexican War, 257-260; superior numbers of, in Civil War, 297; losses, 327; in Spanish War, 373, 374; in Cuba, 375; increased in 1916, 399; in the Great War, 406, 409, 410.
 Arnold, Benedict, attacks Quebec, 140; treason of, 163; reënforces Cornwallis, 166.
 Arthur, Chester A., collector of New York, 357; becomes President, 360; and civil service reform, 361.
 Articles of Confederation, *see* Confederation.
 Ashburton Treaty, 253.
 Astoria founded, 255.
 Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, 342.
 Australian Ballot, 355.
 Austria, defeated by Prussia, 405; makes war on Serbia, 396; United States at war with, 403; makes peace proposals, 408; defeated, 411.
Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, 271.
 Azores rediscovered, 7.
 Bacon's Rebellion, 57.
 Badin, Reverend Stephen, 190.

- Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, 387.
 Bancroft, George, 272.
 Bank, United States, first, 194; second, 225; destroyed by Jackson, 245; Independent Treasury System takes place of, 249; Tyler opposes recharter of, 252.
 Banks: "pet banks" fail, 249; national banks established, 322.
 Baptists, 280.
 Barbastro, Father Luis Cancer de, 38.
 Barre condemns the Stamp Act, 125.
 Barry, Captain John, "Father of the American Navy," 158; portrait, 158.
 Beauregard, Confederate general, 298.
 Belknap, Secretary of War, 338.
 Bell, Alexander Graham, 352.
 Bell, John, 291.
 Benedict XV, Pope, makes peace proposals, 408.
 Bennington, battle of, 148.
 Berkeley, John, New Jersey proprietor, 88.
 Berkeley, Sir William, Governor of Virginia, 56.
 Bernstorff, Count von, German Ambassador, 401.
 Biard, Indian missionary, 39.
 Bienville founds New Orleans, 106.
Biglow Papers, 271.
 Biloxi, Mississippi, 105.
 "Black Codes," 331-332.
 Black Hawk War, 274.
 "Blacklist," of American firms, 398.
 Blaine, James G., 341, 361.
 Bland-Allison Law, 358.
 Blockade of Confederate ports, 301, 302.
 "Bloody Monday," 273.
 "Bloody Shirt," 341.
 Blue Ridge Mountains, 297.
 Body of Liberties, 73.
Bon Homme Richard defeats the *Serapis*, 159.
 Booth, John Wilkes, 327.
 "Border Ruffians," 285.
 Boston, founded, 72; evacuated by the British, 139.
 "Boston Massacre," 129-130.
Boston News Letter, first newspaper in the colonies, 99.
 Boston Port Bill, 132.
 Boston "Tea Party," 130, 131.
 Boundary of Louisiana Purchase defined, 232.
 Bounties for enlistment, 321.
 Braddock, Edward, defeated by French and Indians, 112-113.
 Bradford, William, governor of Plymouth, 60.
 Bragg, Confederate commander, 311, 314, 315.
 Brandywine, battle of, 147.
 Brant, Joseph, Indian leader, 155.
 Brazil, at Niagara Falls Conference, 395.
 Brebeuf martyred by Iroquois, 41.
 Breckenridge, John C., 291.
 Breed's Hill, 137.
 Brown, John, in Kansas, 285; seizes United States arsenal, 290.
 Bryan, William Jennings, candidate for the presidency, 366-367, 376, 386; aids nomination of Wilson, 389.
 Buchanan, James, chosen President, 285; portrait, 286; and secession, 293.
 Buell, Federal commander, 311.
 Buena Vista, battle of, 259.
 Buffalo, exposition at, 377.
 Bulgaria, defeated in the Great War, 411.
 Bull Run, first battle of, 298; second battle, 307.
 Bunker Hill, 137.
 Burgoyne, invades New York, 147; surrenders, 148.
 Burke Act, 346.
 Burnside, Federal general, 308-309.
 Burr, Aaron, 202.
 Business concentration, 353-354.
 Butler, Colonel, 155.
 Cabeza de Vaca, 20.
 Cabinet, President's, beginnings of, 192.
 Cabot, John, 17.
 Cabral discovers Brazil, 16.
 Cadillac founds Detroit, 106.
 Cahokia, 106.
 Calhoun, John C., champions nullification, 242; opposes Jackson's reelection, 243; and Compromise of 1850, 281; death of, 282.
 California, occupied by American forces, 259; gold discovered in, 260-261; missions, 261-262; admitted, 265; and Japanese, 381; adopts woman suffrage, 391.
 Calvert, Cecil, second Lord Baltimore, given Maryland grant, 58; counsels religious toleration, 59.

- Calvert, George, first Lord Baltimore, asks for grant of land in America, 57; portrait, 58.
- Calvert, Leonard, first governor of Maryland, 59; death of, 60.
- Cambridge Agreement, 71.
- Camden, battle of, 161-162.
- Canning, English statesman, 218, 234.
- Cannon, Joseph, 387.
- Cape of Good Hope, 7.
- Carolina, charter granted, 61; first settlement in, 62.
- "Carpetbaggers," 334, 335, 339.
- Carpini, John of Plano, 6.
- Carranza, Provisional President of Mexico, 393, 394.
- Carroll, Charles, 236.
- Carroll, Bishop John, 189-190.
- Carteret, George, 88.
- Cartier visits St. Lawrence River, 23.
- Carver, John, first governor of Plymouth, 69.
- Cass, Lewis, 279.
- Catholic Church, in early days of the republic, 189, 190; and Indian education, 346-347.
- Catholic Indian Missions, Bureau of, 347.
- Cavaliers arrive in Virginia, 56.
- Cayuga Indians, 30.
- Cedar Creek, battle of, 324.
- Census, first, 184.
- Centennial Exposition, 341.
- Centennial State, 347.
- Cervera, Spanish admiral, 372, 373, 374.
- Chabanel, missionary, 41.
- Champlain, Samuel, 25, 102.
- Chancellorsville, battle of, 318.
- Chapultepec captured, 260.
- Charles I, grants Maryland charter, 57; confirms title of Massachusetts Company, 71.
- Charles II, grants Carolina charter, 61; gives land to Penn, 89.
- Charter of Liberties, 87.
- Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, 322.
- Chattanooga, siege of, 314.
- Cherokee Indians, 30, 31, 155, 274.
- Chesapeake*, American frigate, 212.
- Chicago, Columbian Exposition at, 265.
- Chickamauga, battle of, 314.
- Chickasaw Indians, 30, 274.
- Child Labor Act, 400.
- Children's Bureau, 387-388, 392.
- Chile, at Niagara Falls Conference, 395.
- China, commerce with, 276.
- Chinese exclusion, 381.
- Choctaw Indians, 30, 274.
- Cibola, 20.
- Civil Rights Bill, 332.
- Civil Service Commission, 360.
- Civil Service Reform League, 360.
- Clark, George Rogers, 155, 156.
- Clark, William, explorer, 208.
- Clay, Henry, chosen speaker, 215; candidate for the presidency, 237, 243, 255; urges tariff reduction, 245; quarrels with Tyler, 252; and Compromise of 1850, 281-282; portrait, 281.
- Clayton Anti-trust Act, 390.
- Clayton-Bulwer treaty, 262, 378.
- Clermont*, Fulton's steamboat, 210.
- Cleveland, Grover, chosen president, 361; opposes high tariff, 362; defeated for reelection, 362; second election, 363; and silver purchase law, 365; and Pullman strike, 365-366; and Venezuela, 369; and Hawaiian annexation, 371.
- Clinton, British general, attacks Charleston, 144; succeeds Howe, 153; withdraws to New York, 154; captures Charleston, 161.
- Clinton, De Witt, advocates Erie Canal, 235.
- Cold Harbor, battle of, 323.
- Colfax, Schuyler, 338.
- Colombia and Panama, 378.
- Colonial life, 93-101.
- Colorado, admitted, 347; grants woman suffrage, 390.
- Columbia*, Captain Gray's ship, 209.
- Columbia River, discovered, 209; proposed as Oregon boundary, 256.
- Columbian Exposition, 365.
- Columbus, Christopher, early life, 8; seeks aid for western voyage, 10, 11; discoveries of, 11, 12, 14, 15; death of, 16.
- Commerce, in colonial times, 56, 96-97; in the Constitution, 179; in the Great War, 397, 398.
- Commerce Commission, Interstate, 344.
- Commerce and Labor, Department of, 383.
- Committees of Correspondence, formed, 130; in Massachusetts, 133.
- Committees of Public Safety, 134.
- Common Sense*, 142.

- Compromises, of the Constitution, 178-179; Missouri, 230; destroyed, 284; of 1850, 280-282.
- Concord, battle of, 135-136.
- Confederacy, established, 292; population of, 297; lack of manufactures in, 297.
- Confederation, Articles of, adopted, 172; weakness of, 173-176; dissatisfaction with, 176.
- Congregational Church, 189.
- Congress, Continental, first, 134; second, 136; resolves on independence, 142; flees from Philadelphia, 145, 147; and paper money, 152; and the navy, 157; quarrels with Arnold, 163; receives Washington's resignation, 170; asks for cession of western lands, 173.
- Congress, Stamp Act, 125-126.
- Congress, United States, formation of, 179; provides administrative departments, 192; and the right of petition, 247; opposes Lincoln's plan of reconstruction, 330; impeaches President Johnson, 333.
- Conkling, Roscoe, 357.
- Connecticut, founded, 73-74; adopts manhood suffrage, 266.
- "Conquered provinces," 330.
- Conscription Act, 406.
- Conservation, of natural resources, 385.
- Constantinople, conquered by Turks, 5; reconquest of, 411.
- Constitution, of the United States, formulated, 179; compromises of, 179; ratified, 180-181; first ten amendments to, 181; twelfth amendment, 203; thirteenth amendment, 328; fourteenth amendment, 332, 333; fifteenth amendment, 335-336; sixteenth amendment, 388; seventeenth amendment, 389; eighteenth amendment, 413.
- Constitution*, American frigate, 218.
- Constitutional Convention, meets in Philadelphia, 178; formulates Constitution, 179-180.
- Continental Congress, *see* Congress, Continental.
- Contract Labor Law, 350.
- Cooper, James Fenimore, 226.
- Cornwallis, sent to destroy Washington's forces, 145; in command in the South, 161; defeats Gates at Camden, 161; pursues Morgan, 165; meets Greene at Guilford Court House, 166; enters Virginia, 166; surrenders at Yorktown, 168.
- Coronado, 20.
- Corporations, Bureau of, 383.
- Cortez, 20.
- "Cotton belt," 228.
- Cotton-gin, invented, 187; effect of, on slavery, 187-188.
- Crawford of Georgia, 291.
- Creek Indians, 30, 219-220, 274.
- Creek War, 219-220.
- Crevecoeur, Fort, 104.
- Crown Point, Fort, taken by Ethan Allen, 139.
- Crusades, 2-3.
- Cuba, republic of, 375.
- Cuban independence, 374.
- Cuban Rebellion, 371.
- Cumberland Road, 220.
- Currency and Banking Law, 390.
- Custer, General George A., 345.
- Daniel, missionary to the Hurons, 41.
- Danish West Indies, purchase of, 395.
- Dardanelles, closed to commerce, 397.
- Davenport, Reverend John, founder of New Haven, 74.
- Davis, Jefferson, chosen president of the Confederacy, 292; portrait, 295; predicts long war, 294; captured, 327.
- Davost, missionary to the Hurons, 41.
- Dawes Act, 345-346.
- Deane, Silas, American agent in Paris, 151.
- Dearborn, Henry, American general, 217.
- Dearborn Massacre, 217.
- Debts, Revolutionary War, 176; payment of, 193; state debts, 193; Loyalist, 197, of United States in Great War, 407, 413.
- Declaration of Independence, 142-143.
- Declaratory Act, 126, 130.
- de Grasse, Count, aids in capture of Cornwallis, 167.
- de Kalb, French officer, killed at Camden, 162.
- Delaware, settlement of, 91.
- Democracy, 392.
- Democratic Party, beginnings of, 194, 240; divided on slavery issue, 287, 289.
- de Monts founds Fort Royal, 25.

- Denmark, sells Virgin Islands, 395; defeat of, by Prussia, 405.
- de Smet, Peter, S.J., Indian missionary, 274-275.
- de Soto discovers the Mississippi, 21.
- d'Estaing, Count, commands French fleet at Savannah, 160.
- Detroit, founded, 106; surrendered to British, 217.
- Dewey, Commodore George, at Manila, 372.
- Diaz, Bartholomew, 7, 8.
- Diaz, Porfirio, President of Mexico, 393.
- Dingley Tariff, 367, 386.
- Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, 110.
- Donelson, Fort, 309, 310.
- Dongan, Thomas, governor of New York, 86-87.
- Dorr's Rebellion, 266.
- Dorr, Thomas W., 266-267.
- Douglas, Stephen A., champions "squatter sovereignty," 279; portrait, 279; supports Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 283; opposes Leecompton Constitution, 287; debates with Lincoln, 287-289; defeated for the presidency, 291.
- Dow, Neal, 275-276.
- Draft riots, 321.
- Drake, Francis, first Englishman to circumnavigate the earth, 44.
- Dred Scott decision, 286, 288, 289.
- Drexel, Katherine, 347.
- Druillettes, Gabriel, missionary, 40.
- Drummond, William, leader in Bacon's Rebellion, 57.
- Duquesne, Fort, 111, 112, 113, 115.
- Dutch, in New Amsterdam, 82-86; and in Revolution, 160.
- Early, General, in the Shenandoah Valley, 324.
- Eaton, Theophilus, 74.
- Edison, Thomas A., 352, 353.
- Education, in colonial times, 98-99; land grants for, 177-178; in Revolutionary period, 189; among working people, 265; in early nineteenth century, 272; Catholic, 272; of Indians, 346; extension of, 392.
- Eight-hour Day Law, Railroad, 400.
- El Caney, battle of, 374.
- Elections, presidential, 181, 195, 197-198, 202-203, 213, 224-225, 237, 241, 243, 247, 249, 255, 279-280, 282-283, 285-286, 291, 324, 333-334, 336-337, 338-339, 359, 361, 362, 363, 366-367, 376-377, 384, 386, 389-390; primary, 391.
- Electoral Commission, 339.
- Electric telegraph, 269.
- Elizabeth, Queen, gives aid to Hawkins, 44; secures Act of Uniformity, 67.
- Emancipation Proclamation, 309.
- Embargo Act, 212.
- "Emigrant Aid Society," 284.
- Endicott, John, leads party to Massachusetts, 70; portrait, 71.
- England, explorers of, 17, 44-46; need of colonies, 46-47; and expulsion of French from New World, 112-118; colonial policy of, 121-123, 126, 127, 131-133; and American commerce, 196-197, 211-213; and War of 1812, 215-224; in the Civil War, 302-303; and Venezuelan boundary dispute, 369; and Venezuelan debts, 394; declares war on Germany, 396; interferes with American commerce, 397; needs American food, 406; promises ships for American forces, 410.
- Episcopal Church, 189.
- Eric the Red, 1.
- Ericsson, John, designer of the *Monitor*, 304.
- Erie Canal, 235-236.
- Erie, Lake, battle of, 218-219.
- Erskine, British minister, 213.
- Escalona, Luis de, murdered by Indians, 37.
- Espionage Law, 408.
- Evangeline*, 114, 271.
- Expositions, 365, 377, 379.
- Factories, beginnings of, 265.
- Fair Oaks, battle of, 306.
- Fallen Timber, battle of, 186.
- "Farewell Address," Washington's, 198.
- Farm Loans Act, 399.
- "Father of the American Navy," John Barry, 158.
- Federal Aid Roads Act, 400.
- Federal Hall, 183.
- Federalists, favor adoption of the Constitution, 180; name assumed by Hamilton's followers, 194; principles of, 195; nominate John Adams, 198; fall of, 202; oppose War of 1812, 216, 224.
- Federal Reserve Board, 390.
- Federal Trade Commission, 390.
- Ferdinand, king of Spain, II, 15.

- Ferguson, Major, defeated at King's Mountain, 162.
 Field, Cyrus, 270.
 "Fifty-four Forty or Fight," 256.
 Filipinos, join forces with United States, 375; attack American troops, 375.
 Fillmore, Millard, named vice-president, 279; succeeds to the presidency, 282.
 Fisher's Hill, battle of, 324.
 Fitch, John, 209.
 Five Nations' Confederacy, 30, 86.
 Flathead Indians, 275.
 Florida, discovered, 19; Christianity established in, 38; acquisition of, 232-233; admitted, 265; secedes, 292; fruit culture in, 348.
 Foch, Marshal, 409, 411.
 Forbes, General, 115.
 Forts, *see under name of fort*.
 "Fourteen Points," 409.
 France, explorers of, 23-27; and control of North America, 102-117; forms American alliance, 151-152; threatens war, 199; defeated by Prussia, 405; at war with Germany, 396; welcomes American troops, 406.
 Franciscan Recollects, 39.
 Franciscans, in the Southwest, 37; in Florida, 38.
 Franklin, Benjamin, secures public library for Philadelphia, 99; proposes colonial union, 112; negotiates peace with England, 168; in constitutional convention, 178.
 Frederick the Great, 115, 117.
 Free Silver, 358, 363, 366.
 Free Soil Party, 279-280.
 "Freedom of the Seas," 401, 408, 409.
 Fremont, John C., nominated for the presidency, 285.
Frolic, British brig, 218.
 Frontenac, governor of Canada, 103.
 Fugitive Slave Law, proposed, 281; enacted, 282; rouses Northern anger, 283.
 Fulton, Robert, builds successful steamboat, 209; portrait, 209.
 Gadsden, James, 260.
 Gadsden Purchase, 260.
 Gage, British general, reports on American conditions, 131; in command at Boston, 135, 136, 137.
 Gallitzin, "Apostle of the Alleghanies," 190.
 Garfield, James A., chosen president, 359-360; death of, 366.
 Garnier, Charles, martyred by the Iroquois, 41.
 Garrison, William Lloyd, founds Anti-slavery Society, 246.
 Gates, General Horatio, given command in the South, 161; defeated at Camden, 161-162.
 Geneva Tribunal, 337.
 George II grants Georgia charter, 63.
 George III, statue in his honor, 126.
 Georgetown College, 190.
 Georgia, founded, 63; secedes, 292.
 German Empire, established, 404.
 German immigration, 228, 264, 272, 350.
 Germantown, battle of, 147.
 Germany, and Venezuelan debts, 394; enters Great War, 396; ports of, blockaded, 397; submarine warfare of, 398, 401; United States at war with, 402; government of, 403; defeat of, 411.
 Gettysburg, battle of, 319-321.
 Ghent, treaty of, 223-224.
 Gibault, Reverend Peter, 156.
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, claims Newfoundland for England, 45.
 Gold discovered in California, 260-261.
 Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, receives grant of Maine, 75.
 Gosnold, Bartholomew, visits Massachusetts, 46.
 Goupil, René, killed by Iroquois, 41.
 Grange, the, 343.
 "Granger Laws," 343.
 Grant, General Ulysses S., captures Forts Henry and Donelson, 310; at Shiloh, 311; captures Vicksburg, 312; made lieutenant-general, 315; forces Lee to Richmond, 323-324; at Appomattox, 326; chosen president, 333; reelected, 336; candidate for third term, 359.
 Gray, Captain Robert, discovers Columbia River, 209.
 Great Britain, *see* England.
 Great War, breaks out in Europe, 395; United States, neutral in, 396; disturbs American business, 396; leads to increase of army and navy, 399; United States enters, 402; end of, 411.
Great Western, ocean steamship, 270.

- Greeley, Horace, editor, 271; on secession, 293; candidate for the presidency, 336; death of, 337.
- "Greenbacks," 322, 359.
- Greene, General Nathanael, succeeds Gates, 164; meets Cornwallis at Guilford Court House, 166; regains the South, 166.
- Greenland, 1, 2.
- Guadalupe-Hidalgo, treaty of, 260.
- Guam, island of, 374.
- Guanahani, island of, 12.
- Guerrière*, British frigate, 218.
- Hague, the, permanent court of, 380.
- "Hail Columbia," 181.
- Haiti, 12, 394.
- Half Moon*, Henry Hudson's ship, 82.
- Hamilton, Alexander, writes report of Annapolis Convention, 176; delegate to Constitutional Convention, 178; Secretary of the Treasury, 192; his financial plans, 193-194.
- Hamilton, Henry, British commander at Detroit, 155; captured at Vincennes, 157.
- Hancock, General Winfield Scott, at Gettysburg, 320; candidate for the presidency, 360.
- Harrison, Benjamin, elected President, 362; defeated for reelection, 363; portrait, 362.
- Harrison, William Henry, victor at Tippecanoe, 215; defeats British on the Thames, 219; chosen President, 249-250; death of, 252.
- Hartford Convention, 224.
- Harvard College, 99.
- Harvey, Father, opens school in New York, 99.
- Hawaii, 276, 370.
- Hawkins, Captain John, 44.
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 271.
- Hay, John, Secretary of State, 378.
- Hayes, Rutherford B., candidate for the presidency, 338; portrait, 338; chosen President, 339; and the Republican Party, 357, 358.
- Hayne, Robert, upholds nullification, 242.
- Health Service, Public, 392.
- Hendricks, Thomas, Vice-President, 361.
- Hennepin, Father Louis, names Falls of St. Anthony, 104.
- Henry the Navigator, 7, 8.
- Henry of Prussia, Prince, 176.
- Henry, Fort, 309, 310.
- Henry, Patrick, resolutions against Stamp Act, 124-125; governor of Virginia, 155; opposes ratification of the Constitution, 180.
- Hepburn Rate Bill, 384.
- Herald*, newspaper, 271.
- "High cost of living," 367.
- Hohenzollern, House of, 404.
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 271.
- Holy Land, crusades for, 3; liberated, 411.
- Homestead Act, 267.
- Hood, General J. B., opposes Sherman, 316; defeated at Nashville, 317.
- Hooker, Federal commander, succeeds Burnside, 309; defeated at Chancellorsville, 318.
- Hooker, Reverend Thomas, founder of Hartford, 74.
- Horseshoe Bend, battle of, 220.
- Howe, Elias, 269.
- Howe, Sir William, in command of British at Boston, 138; captures New York and neighboring forts, 145; his offer of pardon, 145; captures Philadelphia, 147; succeeded by Clinton, 153.
- Hudson Bay, British control of, recognized, 108.
- Hudson, Henry, discovers Hudson River, 82.
- Huerta, Victoriano, President of Mexico, 393.
- Hughes, Archbishop, 303.
- Hughes, Charles, nominated for the presidency, 400.
- Hull, Captain Isaac, 218.
- Hull, General William, 217.
- Huron Indians, 40, 41.
- Hutchinson, Chief Justice, mob attacks his house, 125.
- Hutchinson, Mrs. Anne, aids in settlement of Rhode Island, 75.
- Iberville, French explorer, 105.
- Iceland, 1.
- Idaho, admitted, 347; grants woman suffrage, 390.
- Illinois, admitted, 230; adopts woman suffrage, 391.
- Immigration, in the colonies, 93-94; in early days of the republic, 184; later, 228, 264, 272, 349; restrictions on, 350, 381, 382.
- Impeachment of President Johnson, 333.

- "Imperialism," 376.
 Impressment of American seamen, 212, 215.
 Independent Treasury System, 249.
 Indians, North American, named by Columbus, 29; eastern tribes of, 30; food and dwellings of, 31; industries of, 32; society, 33; religion of, 34; and the whites, 34; education of, 346-347; treaties with, 69, 86, 91, 186, 214, 274; wars with, 76, 77-78, 83-84, 118-119, 154-155, 185-186, 214-215, 219-220, 223, 274, 344-345. *See names of tribes.*
 Indian Territory, established, 274; united to Oklahoma, 386.
 Indiana admitted, 230.
 Ingle, Captain Richard, leads revolt in Maryland, 60.
 Initiative, 391.
 Insurgents oppose Taft, 387.
 Internal improvements planned by Jefferson, 210.
 International arbitration, 379.
 Interstate Commerce Commission, 344, 384.
 Intolerable Acts, 132.
 Inventions, 187-188, 209, 236, 267-270, 352-353.
 Iowa admitted, 265.
 Irish, immigration of, 93-94, 228, 264, 272, 350.
 Irish brigade, 309.
 Ironclad battleships, 303.
 Iroquois Indians, 30, 41, 82, 86, 108, 111.
 "Irrepressible conflict," 289.
 Irving, Washington, 226.
 Isabella of Spain, 11, 15.
 Island No. 10, 311.
 Jackson, Andrew, defeats Creek Indians, 220; at battle of New Orleans, 222; invades Florida, 233; first American governor of Florida, 233; defeated for the presidency, 237; portrait, 241; elected President, 241; and nullification, 243-244; reelected, 243; and the tariff, 245; and the United States Bank, 245; issues Specie Circular, 248.
 Jackson, General "Stonewall," 300, 306, 307, 318, 319.
 James I grants Virginia charter, 49.
 James II appoints Andros governor of New York and New England, 79; driven from English throne, 79.
 Jamestown, founded, 50; early times in, 51-55; captured by Bacon, 57.
 Japan, treaty of commerce with, 276; and peace of Portsmouth, 381.
 Japanese exclusion, 381-382.
 Java, British warship, 218.
 Jay, John, represents colonies at peace of Paris, 168; makes treaty with England, 197; first Chief Justice of United States Supreme Court, 192.
 Jay's treaty, 197.
 Jefferson, Thomas, writes Declaration of Independence, 143; opposes slavery, 187; named Secretary of State, 192; chosen Vice-President, 198; elected President, 202; portrait, 204; his principles of government, 205; directs war against Tripoli, 205; purchases Louisiana, 206; sends out Lewis and Clark, 208; refuses third term, 213.
The Jesuit Relations, 39.
 Jogues, Father Isaac, missionary to Hurons, 41; martyred by Iroquois, 42; at New Amsterdam, 84.
 Johnson, Andrew, chosen Vice-President, 325; becomes President, 331; portrait, 331; reconstruction plan of, 331; impeachment of, 333.
 Johnson, William, 112.
 Johnston, General Albert Sydney, 310.
 Johnston, General Joseph E., 306, 312, 316, 326.
 Joliet, Louis, reaches the Mississippi, 103.
 Jones, John Paul, portrait, 159; victory over the *Serapis*, 159.
 Junkers, 405.
 Kansas, struggle over slavery in, 284-285; admitted, 287; adopts woman suffrage, 391.
 Kansas-Nebraska Act, 283.
 Kaskaskia, 106.
 Kearney, General Stephen W., organizes New Mexican government, 259.
 Kenesaw Mountain, battle of, 316.
 Kentucky, admitted, 186.
 Key, Francis Scott, writes Star-Spangled Banner, 222.
 Kieft, William, governor of New Netherland, 84.
 King George's War, 108-109.
 King Philip's War, 77-78.

- King William's War, 105, 107.
 King's Mountain, battle of, 162.
 Knights of Columbus, 408.
 Knights of Labor, 351, 365.
 Know-nothing Party, 272-273, 291.
 Knox, Henry, Secretary of War, 192.
 Ku-Klux Klan, 335.
- Labor, conditions of, in factories, 265.
 Labor Bureau, Federal, 351.
 Labor Day, 366.
 Labor, Department of, 387-388, 392
 Labor unions, 350-351.
 La Cruz, Father Juan de, 37.
 Lafayette, offers services to America, 151;
 portrait, 152; opposes Cornwallis, 166;
 at Yorktown, 167.
 La Follette, Robert, United States Senator,
 389.
 Lake of the Woods, 232.
 Lalement, Father Gabriel, killed by Iroquois,
 41.
 Lands, free distribution of, demanded, 266.
 La Rabida Convent, 11.
 Laramie, Fort, Indian congress at, 275.
 La Salle, explores the West, 104; reaches
 the mouth of the Mississippi, 105.
 Las Casas, Bishop, 9.
 "Latter Day Saints," 273.
 Le Caron, missionary to the Hurons, 40.
 Lecompton Constitution, 287.
 Lee, General Charles, at Monmouth, 154.
 Lee, Richard Henry, asks for declaration of
 independence, 142; portrait, 172; sug-
 gests plan of federation, 172.
 Lee, General Robert E., succeeds Johnston,
 306; at Bull Run, 307; at Antietam,
 307-308; at Chancellorsville, 318; at
 Gettysburg, 319-321; portrait, 320;
 driven back to Richmond, 323-324;
 surrenders, 326.
 Leif Ericson, 1.
 Leisler, Jacob, 87.
 Le Moyne, Jean, *see* Bienville.
 Le Moyne, missionary to Iroquois, 42.
 Le Moyne, Peter, *see* Iberville.
 Leopard, British warship, 212.
 Lewis, Meriwether, explorer, 208.
 Lewis and Clark Expedition, 208.
 Lexington, battle of, 135-136.
 Lexington, Captain Barry's vessel, 158,
 159.
- Liberal Republicans, 336.
Liberator, anti-slavery paper, 246.
 "Liberty Loans," 407.
 Lincoln, Abraham, and Dred Scott decision,
 286, 288; debates with Douglas, 287-289;
 elected President, 291; first inaugural
 address, 294; portrait, 294; calls out
 militia, 296; declares blockade, 301;
 issues Emancipation Proclamation, 309;
 second election of, 325; death of, 327;
 his plan of reconstruction, 330.
 Lincoln, General, attacks Savannah, 160;
 surrenders army, 161.
 Line of demarcation, 12, 16.
 Little Big Horn, battle of, 345.
 Loans, to European governments, 413.
 "Log-cabin candidate," 250.
 London Company, chartered, 49; founds
 Jamestown, 50; receives second charter,
 52; grants self-government, 55; dissolved,
 55.
 Longfellow, Henry W., 271; portrait, 271.
 Long Island, battle of, 145.
 Lookout Mountain, battle of, 314.
 Louis XIV, 105.
 Louisburg, fortified by French, 108; taken
 by English, 109; captured a second time,
 115.
 Louisiana, purchase of, 206; exploration of,
 206-209; admitted, 230; secedes, 292.
 Lowell, James Russell, 271; portrait, 271;
 on fall of Fort Sumter, 296.
 Loyalists, leave Boston, 139; in the South,
 143; aid British, 154; join Cornwallis,
 162.
Lusitania, torpedoed, 398.
- MacDonough, Thomas, victor of Plattsburg,
 221.
Macedonia, British frigate, 218.
 Macon's Bill No. 2, 214.
 Madero, Francisco, President of Mexico,
 393.
 Madison, James, in constitutional conven-
 tion, 178; opposes payment of state debts,
 193; elected President, 213; suspends
 commercial intercourse with Great Britain,
 214; recommends war, 215.
 Madras, India, 109.
 Magellan, 18.
 Mahan, Admiral, 117.
 Maine, given to Gorges, 75; absorbed by

- Massachusetts, 76; admitted, 230; passes first state wide prohibition law, 275-276.
- Maine*, battleship, 371.
- Malden, siege of, 217.
- Malvern Hill, battle of, 306.
- Manassas Junction, 298.
- Mandan Indians, 208.
- Manhattan Island, settlement of, 82-83.
- Manila, battle of, 372.
- Marco Polo, 6.
- Marcos of Niza, missionary, 37.
- Marion, Francis, guerrilla leader, 161.
- Marquette, Father James, 42; discovers the Mississippi, 103; preaches among Illinois Indians, 104.
- Martinez, Father Pedro, killed by Indians, 38.
- Marye's Heights, 308.
- Maryland, origin of name, 58; first settlement, 59; toleration, 59-60; civil war in, 60; demands cession of western lands, 172; adopts manhood suffrage, 266.
- Maskoki Indians, 30.
- Mason, James, 301, 302.
- Mason, Captain John, given title to New Hampshire, 75.
- Mason and Dixon Line established, 92.
- Massachusetts, early settlements in, 68-73; expands to the north, 75; punished by British Parliament, 131-133.
- Massachusetts Bay Colony, foundation and growth, 70-73; loses its charter, 78; united with Plymouth, 79.
- Massasoit, Chief of the Wampanoags, 60.
- Massé, missionary to the Indians, 39.
- Mathew, Father Theobald, 276.
- Maximilian of Austria, 334.
- Mayflower*, 68, 69.
- Mayflower* Compact, 69.
- McClellan, General George B., commands Army of the Potomac, 300; fights Peninsular Campaign, 305-306; succeeds Pope in command, 307; at Antietam, 307-308; succeeded by Burnside, 308; candidate for the presidency, 325.
- McCormick reaper, 267-268.
- McDowell, General Irvin, 298.
- McHenry, Fort, bombardment of, 222.
- McKinley, William, chosen President, 366-367; and Cuba, 371; second election of, 376-377; murdered, 377.
- McKinley Bill, 363.
- Meade, General George, succeeds Hooker, 319; at Gettysburg, 320.
- Meagher, General Thomas Francis, portrait, 308; at Fredericksburg, 309.
- Memphis, Tenn., 311.
- Menard, missionary to the Hurons, 42.
- Mendoza, Lopez de, missionary in Florida, 38.
- Menendez, destroys French settlement, 24; founds St. Augustine, Fla., 38.
- Merrimac*, Confederate armored ship, 303, 304.
- Methodists, 189, 289.
- Mexican War, 257-260.
- Mexico, and independence of Texas, 254; at war with United States, 257-260; in Civil War, 312; the French in, 334; and the Pious Fund, 380; revolution in, 393; punitive expedition enters, 394; and proposal of German alliance, 402.
- Mexico City captured, 260.
- Michigan, admitted, 265; adopts woman suffrage, 391.
- Micmac Indians, 40.
- Miles, General Nelson, 374.
- Miles Standish*, 271.
- Mims, Fort, massacre of, 220.
- Minnesota admitted, 265.
- Minuit, Peter, first governor of New Netherland, 83.
- Missionaries in the Far East, 5-6.
- Missionary Ridge, battle of, 314.
- Missions, in the Southwest, 37; in Florida, 38; in New France, 39-42; in California, 261-262.
- Mississippi, admitted, 230; secedes, 292.
- Missouri admitted, 230.
- Missouri Compromise, 230.
- Mitchell, John, miners' leader, 384.
- Mohawk Indians, 30.
- Molasses Act, enacted, 97; enforcement of, 122, 123.
- Monitor*, armored vessel, 304.
- Monmouth, battle of, 154.
- Monroe, James, elected President, 224; issues Monroe Doctrine, 234.
- Monroe Doctrine, 233-235; and Mexico, 334; and Venezuela, 369.
- Montana, admitted, 347; adopts woman suffrage, 391.
- Montcalm, governor of Canada, 114, 115, 116; portrait, 117.

- Monterey, battle of, 259.
 Montgomery, Alabama, 292.
 Montgomery, Richard, invades Canada, 140.
 Morgan, General Daniel, portrait, 164; defeats Tarleton at Cowpens, 164; retreats before Cornwallis, 165.
 Morgan, William, 244.
Mormon, Book of, 273.
 Mormonism, founded, 273; and polygamy, 347.
 Mormons found Salt Lake City, 274.
 Morris, Robert, 178.
 Morse, Samuel F. B., perfects electric telegraph, 260.
 Moultrie, Colonel, defends Charleston, 144.
 Moundbuilders, 29.
 Murfreesboro, battle of, 311.
 Napoleon, makes peace with United States, 199; sells Louisiana, 206; revokes decrees, 214; defeated at Leipzig, 220.
 Napoleon III sends troops to Mexico, 334.
 Narvaez explores Gulf of Mexico, 19.
 Nashville, battle of, 317.
 National Republican Party, 240.
 Navigation Acts, 56.
 Navy, in the Revolution, 157-160; in War of 1812, 218-219; in Mexican War, 259; in Civil War, 301-305; in Spanish War, 372, 373, 374; building program, 399; in Great War, 412.
 Navy Department created, 199.
 Nebraska, admitted, 347; woman suffrage in, 391.
 Necessity, Fort, 111.
 Negro problem, 349.
 Neutrality of the United States, 195-196, 396.
 Nevada, admitted, 347; adopts woman suffrage, 391.
 New Amsterdam, Dutch in, 83-86.
 New England, early voyages to, 46; colonies of, 65-81; in the War of 1812, 216, 224.
 New England Federation, 76.
 Newfoundland, visited by John Cabot, 17; England's ownership of, recognized, 108.
 New Hampshire, named, 75; becomes part of Massachusetts, 76; made a royal province, 76; ratifies the Constitution, 180.
 New Haven founded, 74.
 New Jersey, settlement of, 88-89.
 New Madrid, 311.
 New Mexico admitted, 388.
 New Netherland, founded, 83; growth of, 83; war with Indians, 83-84; end of Dutch rule in, 85-86.
 New Orange, 86.
 New Orleans, founded, 106; battle of, 222-223; captured by Farragut, 304.
 Newport, Captain Christopher, commands first expedition of London Company, 50.
 Newspapers, in colonial times, 99; use electric telegraph, 271.
 New Sweden, settlement of, 91.
 New York, granted to Duke of York, 85; seized by the Dutch, 86; English rule in, 86-88; ratifies Constitution, 181; adopts manhood suffrage, 266; adopts woman suffrage, 391.
 Nez Percés Indians, 275.
 Niagara Falls, conference, 1914, 395.
 Nicaragua, 378.
 Nicolet, Jean, 27.
 Nicolls, Richard, captures New Amsterdam, 86.
Niña, Columbus' ship, 11.
 "No Taxation without Representation," 126-127.
 Nominating convention, first national, 244.
 Nominating election, primary, 391.
 Non-Intercourse Act, passes, 213; expires, 214.
 North, British Prime Minister, 130.
 North America, visited by Northmen, 2; discovered by Columbus, 15.
North American Review, 226.
 North Carolina, established, 62; colonial products of, 63; ratifies Constitution, 181; secedes, 296.
 North Dakota admitted, woman suffrage in, 391.
 Northern Pacific Railroad, 342.
 Northmen, 1.
 Northwest Ordinance, 177.
 Nullification, right of, claimed in Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 201; in South Carolina, 242.
 Ocean steamships, 270.
 Ocean telegraph, 270.
 Oglethorpe, James, founds Georgia, 63.
 Ohio Company, 110.
 Oklahoma admitted, 386; woman suffrage in, 391.

- Oneida Indians, 30.
 Onondaga Indians, 30.
 "Order of the Star-Spangled Banner," 272.
 Ordinance of Nullification, 244.
 Ordinance of 1787, 177.
 Oregon, joint occupancy of, 232; admitted, 265; adopts woman suffrage, 391.
Oregon, battleship, 373, 378.
 Oregon Question, 255-256; settled, 257.
 Oriental trade, 3, 4, 5, 7.
 Osceola, leader of Seminole Indians, 274.
 Otis, James, portrait, 122; on writs of assistance, 123.
 Ottawa Indians, 42, 119.

 Pacific Ocean, discovery of, 17.
 Padilla, Father Juan de, 37.
 Paine, Thomas, 142.
 Pakenham, British general, 223.
 Palma, Thomas Estrada, first President of Cuba, 375.
 Panama Canal, 378-379, 395.
 Panama, Isthmus of, crossed by Balboa, 17.
 Panama, Republic of, 378.
 Panama-Pacific Exposition, 379.
 Pan-American Exposition, 377.
 Panic, of 1837, 248; of 1893, 364.
 Parcel post, 387.
 Paris, treaty of, ending Seven Years' War, 117-118; ending War of Independence, 168; ending Spanish War, 374.
 Parker, Alton B., candidate for the presidency, 384.
 Parliament, British, passes Stamp Act, 123; asserts right to legislate for the colonies, 126; adopts new taxes, 127; defied by colonies, 128; seeks to punish Massachusetts, 132; undertakes to close American ports, 140.
 Parties, political, rise of, 194; *see names of parties*.
 Patrons of Husbandry, 343.
 Patroons, 83.
 Pauncefote, British ambassador, 378.
 Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 386.
 Peace conference, 325.
 Pemberton, General, surrenders Vicksburg, 312.
 Peninsular Campaign, 305-306.
 Penn, William, receives grant of Pennsylvania, 89; government of, 90; receives Delaware, 91.
 Pennsylvania, origin of name, 89; is given to Penn, 89; boundary dispute with Maryland, 91-93.
 People's Party, 364, 366.
 Pequot War, 76.
 Perez, Father Juan, 11.
 Perrault, founds Cape Breton Mission, 40.
 Perry, Commodore Matthew, visits Japan, 276.
 Perry, Oliver Hazard, captures British fleet, 219.
 Perryville, battle of, 311.
 Philadelphia, occupied by British, 147; Constitutional Convention in, 178; Centennial Exposition in, 341.
 Philippine Commission, 375.
 Philippine Islands, reached by Magellan, 18; in Spanish War, 372; sold to United States, 374; under American rule, 375-376, 399.
 Phillips, Wendell, anti-slavery orator, 246.
 Phips, Sir William, governor of Massachusetts, 80.
 Pickens, Andrew, guerrilla leader, 161.
 Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, 320.
 Pierce, Franklin, chosen President, 283.
 Pike, Zebulon, explorer, 209.
 Pilgrims come to America, 68.
 Pinchot, Gifford, 387.
Pinta, Columbus' ship, 11.
 Pious Fund, 380.
 Pitt, Fort, 115.
 Pitt, William, leader of British government, 115, 122; praises American resistance, 126.
 Pittsburg Landing, battle of, 310-311.
 Pius VI, Pope, 180.
 Plano Carpin, John of, *see* Carpin.
 Platform, political, beginning of, 244.
 Plattsburg, battle of, 221.
 Plymouth, founded, 68; growth of the colony, 69-70; joined to Massachusetts, 79.
 Plymouth Company, chartered, 49; first expedition of, 65; receives new charter, 65.
 Poe, Edgar Allan, 271.
 Polk, James K., chosen President, 255; portrait, 255; and Oregon Question, 256-257; sends troops to Texas, 257; orders seizure of California, 259.
 Ponce de Leon, 18.
 Pope, Federal general, 307.

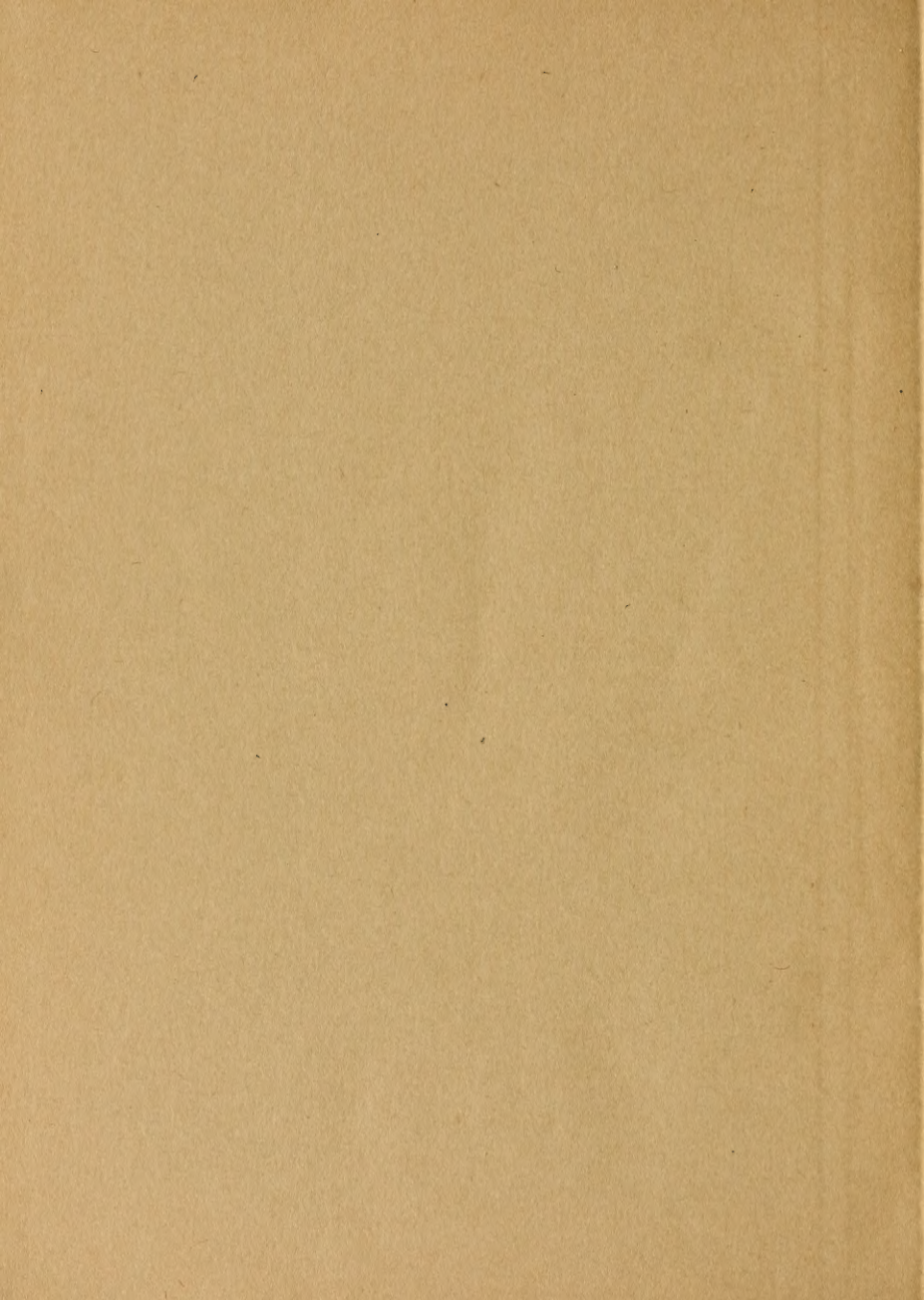
- Population of the United States, 93-94, 184, 264, 349.
- Populists, 363.
- Porto Rico, 371, 374.
- Portsmouth, N. H., peace of, 380-381.
- Postal savings banks, 387.
- Powderly, Terence V., 351.
- Preëemption Act, 267.
- Presbyterians, 289.
- Prescott, patriot leader at Bunker Hill, 137.
- Presidential Succession Act, 361.
- Prices, Federal control of, 406.
- Primary nominating election, 391.
- Princeton, battle of, 146.
- Pring, Martin, visits New England coast, 46.
- Printing-press, first in English colonies, 99; improvements in, 270.
- Privateers in the Revolution, 157.
- Progressive Party, 389, 400.
- Progressive Republican League, 387.
- Prohibition of alcoholic liquors, 275, 413.
- "Prophet," brother of Tecumseh, 215.
- Providence, R. I., founded, 75.
- Prussia, 404, 405.
- Public lands, ceded by states, 172-173; granted for education, 177-178.
- Pulaski, Polish nobleman, killed at siege of Savannah, 160.
- Pullman strike, 365.
- Punishments, in colonial times, 99-100.
- Pure food law, 385.
- Puritans, origin of, 67.
- Puritan migration, 72.
- Putnam, General Israel, at Brooklyn Heights, 145.
- Quakers, in Massachusetts, 76-77; in New Jersey, 89; in Pennsylvania, 89.
- Quebec, founded, 25; captured by Wolfe, 115-116; attacked by Arnold and Montgomery, 140.
- Quebec Act, 133.
- Queen Anne's War, 107-108.
- Queenstown, battle of, 217.
- Railroad, beginnings of, 236-237; rate discrimination, 343; state regulation of, 343; extension of, in the West, 342; aids immigration, 349-350; Federal regulation of, 384; Eight-hour Day Law, 400.
- Raimbault, Indian missionary, 41, 42.
- Rale, Reverend Sebastian, 40.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, 45.
- Reaper, invention of, 267-268.
- Recollects, 39.
- Reconstruction Acts, 333.
- Red Cross, 408.
- Referendum, 391.
- Regulating Act, 132.
- Reichstag, 404.
- Repressive Acts, 132.
- Republican Party, name given Jefferson's followers, 194; principles of, 195; anti-slavery party assumes name of, 285.
- Reservations, Indian, 274.
- Resumption Act, 359.
- Rhode Island, founded, 74-75; ratifies United States Constitution, 181; revises its constitution, 267; woman suffrage in, 391.
- Ribaut, founds colony at Port Royal Sound, 24.
- Richmond, Va., capital of the Confederacy, 297; evacuation of, 326.
- Roads Act, Federal aid, 400.
- Roanoke, Raleigh's colony, 45.
- "Rock of Chickamauga," 314.
- Rockefeller, John D., 354.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 372; becomes President, 377; portrait, 377; and Panama Canal, 378, 379; and international arbitration, 379-380; and peace of Portsmouth, 380-381; sends fleet around the world, 382; and the trusts, 383; and the anthracite coal strike, 383; elected President, 384; and conservation movement, 385; candidate for third term, 389; makes treaty with Santo Domingo, 394; in electoral campaign of 1916, 400.
- Rosecrans, General William S., 311, 314.
- Ross, British general, burns capitol at Washington, 221; killed at Fort McHenry, 222.
- "Rough Riders," 377.
- Russia, withdraws claim to American territory, 235; sells Alaska, 334; and peace of Portsmouth, 381; in the Great War, 396; Czar of, overthrown, 405; breakdown of, 408, 409.
- Sacajawea, Indian woman, 208.
- Sagard, Gabriel, historian of Recollect missions, 40.

- St. Clement's Island, site of first Mass in Maryland, 59.
- St. Leger, driven from Fort Stanwix, 148.
- St. Mary's, Md., site of first settlement in Maryland, 59.
- Salem, Mass., founded, 70-71; witchcraft delusion in, 79-80.
- Salvation Army, 408.
- Sampson, American admiral, 373.
- San Francisco, exposition at, 379; and Japanese pupils, 381.
- San Juan Hill, battle of, 374.
- San Salvador, 12.
- Santa Anna, Mexican general, 259.
- Santa Maria*, Columbus' ship, 11, 12.
- Santiago, Cuba, blockade of, 372-374.
- Santo Domingo, republic of, 394.
- Saratoga, scene of Burgoyne's surrender, 148.
- Savannah*, first steamboat to cross Atlantic, 210.
- Savannah, Ga., in Revolution, 160, 166; Sherman reaches, 318.
- Schurz, Carl, 357.
- Scott, General Winfield, captures Vera Cruz, 259; captures Mexico City, 260; portrait, 260; candidate for President, 282; in Civil War, 298, 300.
- Scrooby, 67.
- Sea power, 106-107, 117.
- Secession, threatened, 286, 291; accomplished, 291-292, 296.
- Sedition Law, 201.
- Segura, Indian missionary, 38.
- Seminole Indians, 30, 274.
- Seneca Indians, 30, 155.
- Separatists, origin of, 67.
- Serapis*, surrenders to John Paul Jones, 159.
- Serbia, in Great War, 396.
- Serra, Father Junipero, founds California mission, 261; portrait, 261.
- Seven Days' Battles, 306.
- Seven Years' War, 114.
- Seward, William H., on the "irrepressible conflict," 290; shot, 327; and Alaskan purchase, 334.
- Sewing machine, invention of, 269.
- Seymour, Horatio, candidate for the presidency, 333.
- Shafter, General William, in Cuba, 373.
- Shays, Daniel, 175.
- Shays' Rebellion, 175.
- Shenandoah Campaign, 324.
- Sheridan, General Philip, in the Shenandoah Valley, 324; at Appomattox, 326; on Mexican border, 334; and Indian wars, 345.
- Sherman, General W. T., at Chattanooga, 314, 315; portrait, 316; reaches Atlanta, 316; his march to the sea, 317-318; receives Johnston's surrender, 327.
- Sherman Anti-trust Act, 354-355, 390.
- Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 363; repealed, 365.
- Shiloh, battle of, 311.
- Shipbuilding in the Great War, 407.
- Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, 108, 112.
- Silver Purchase Act, 363, 365.
- Singer, Isaac, 269.
- Sioux Indians, 105, 345.
- Sirius*, ocean steamship, 270.
- Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indian and Colored People, 347.
- Sitting Bull, 345.
- Six Nations' Confederacy, 30.
- Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, 298.
- Sixty-ninth New York Regiment, 298.
- Skaguay, Alaska, 380.
- Sketch Book*, 226.
- Slavery, introduced into Virginia, 53-54; grows rapidly in South Carolina, 62; in Northwest Territory, 177; in the Constitution, 179; at end of eighteenth century, 187; and the cotton-gin, 187-188; opposed in the North, 230-231; extension of, after Mexican War, 278; abolished, 328.
- Slidell, John, 301, 302.
- Smith, Captain John, portrait, 51; leader of Jamestown colony, 51; makes map of New England, 65.
- Smith, Joseph, founds Mormonism, 273.
- "Sons of Liberty," 125.
- Socialists, popular vote of in 1912, 390; support President Wilson, 401.
- South Carolina, established, 62; slavery in, 62; secedes, 291-292.
- South Dakota admitted, 347; woman suffrage in, 391.
- Southern Pacific Railroad, 342.
- Spain, destroys Moorish power, 10; in America, 11-23; in French and Indian War, 117-118; makes loans to America,

- 151; gives naval aid, 160; treaty with, 185, 206; cedes Florida, 233; war with, 371-374.
- Spanish Succession, War of, 107.
- Spanish War, 371-374
- Specie Circular, 248.
- Specie payments, resumed, 359.
- Spoils System, 241, 336.
- Spottsylvania Court House, battle of, 223.
- The Spy*, 226.
- Stamp Act, passed, 123; opposition to, 124-125; repeal of, 126.
- Stamp Act Congress, 125-126.
- Standard Oil Company, 354.
- Stanton, Secretary of War, 304, 333.
- Stanwix, Fort, 148.
- Stark, John, captures British force at Bennington, 148.
- "Star-Spangled Banner," composed by F. S. Key, 222.
- "Starving time," at Jamestown, 51.
- Steamboat, invention of, 209.
- Stephens, Alexander, 292.
- Stephenson, George, 236.
- Steuben, Baron von, drills American forces, 166; portrait, 166.
- Stevens, Thaddeus, 332.
- Stoddert, Benjamin, first Secretary of the Navy, 199.
- Stone, Captain William, governor of Maryland, 60.
- Stowe, Mrs. Harriet Beecher, 283.
- Strikes, Pullman, 365; in anthracite coal fields, 383.
- Stuyvesant, Peter, Dutch governor, 84; surrenders New Amsterdam to English, 86; portrait, 84.
- Submarine warfare, German, 398, 401.
- Sullivan, American general, defeats Tories in New York, 155.
- Sulpicians, 40, 106, 190.
- Sumner, United States Senator, 332.
- Sumter, Fort, attacked, 294-296.
- Sumter, Thomas, guerrilla leader, 161.
- Sun*, New York newspaper, 271.
- Supreme Court of the United States, 179.
- Taft, W. H., heads Philippine Commission, 375; chosen President, 386; portrait, 386; and Republican insurgents, 387; defeated for reelection, 389.
- Taney, Roger B., 286.
- Tariff, under the Confederation, 174, 175, 176; in the Constitution, 179; during Washington's presidency, 193, 194; of 1816, 225; of 1828, 240; of 1833, 245; in Civil War, 322; McKinley, 363; Dingley, 367; Payne-Aldrich, 386; Underwood, 390.
- Tariff Commission, 399.
- Tarleton, British colonel, defeats patriot force at Waxhaw, 161; defeated at Cowpens, 164.
- Taxation, in the colonies, 118, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 130; under the Confederation, 174, 175, 176; in the Constitution, 179; Hamilton's, 193, 195; on incomes, 388, 390; in the Great War, 399, 407, 413; see also Tariff.
- Taylor, General Zachary, leads American forces into Texas, 257; defeats Mexicans, 259; chosen President, 279-280; portrait, 280; death of, 282.
- Tea, tax on, 130.
- Tecumseh, Indian leader, 215; killed in battle, 219.
- Telegraph, invention of electric, 269; ocean, 270.
- Temperance reform, 275.
- Tennessee, admitted, 186; secedes, 296; in reconstruction period, 332-333.
- Texas, independence of, 253-254; annexation of, 254-255; and slavery question, 255; admitted, 265; secedes, 292; cotton in, 348.
- Thames, battle of, 219.
- Thanatopsis*, 226.
- Thomas, General George, "the Rock of Chickamauga," 314; defeats Hood at Nashville, 317.
- Thury, Reverend Louis, 40.
- Ticonderoga, Fort, taken by Ethan Allen, 139; taken by Burgoyne, 147.
- Tilden, Samuel J., 338, 339.
- Tippecanoe, battle of, 215.
- Tobacco, cultivated by Indians, 34; introduced into England, 45; enriches Virginia, 53.
- Toleration Act in Maryland, 59, 61.
- Toombs of Georgia, 281.
- "Tories" give aid to British, 154, 155.
- Toscanelli, on the earth's size, 9.
- Trade routes between Europe and Asia, 3.
- Travel, in early days of the republic, 186; railroad, 236-237.

- Treaties, of St. Germain, 40; of Utrecht, 108; of Aix-la-Chapelle, 109; of Paris, 1763, 117-118; of Paris, 1783, 168; with Spain, 185; of Ghent, 223-224; Webster-Ashburton, 253; settling Oregon Question, 257; of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 260; with Japan, 276; Clayton-Bulwer, 262, 378; of Washington, 337; of Paris, 1898, 374; of Portsmouth, 380-381; with Indians, *see* Indians.
- Trent Affair, 301-302.
- Trenton, battle of, 146.
- Tribune*, newspaper, 271, 293.
- Tripoli declares war on United States, 205.
- Trusts, 342, 354; Anti-trust Act, 354-355; regulation of, 383, 390.
- Turkey, defeat of, 411.
- Tuskegee Institute, 349.
- Tyler, John, elected Vice-President, 250; portrait, 252; succeeds to presidency, 252; quarrels with Whigs, 252; urges annexation of Texas, 254.
- Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 283.
- "Underground Railroad," 246, 283.
- Underwood Tariff, 390.
- Union Pacific Railroad, 342.
- Union Party, 325.
- Unions, labor, 350-351.
- Unitarians, 189.
- United States*, frigate, 218.
- United States, independence of, 142-143; under Articles of Confederation, 172-180; adopts Constitution, 180-181.
- United States Public Health Service, 392.
- Utah, admitted, 347; grants woman suffrage, 390.
- Utrecht, treaty of, 108.
- Valley Forge, 152-153.
- Van Buren, Martin, chosen Vice-President, 243; becomes President, 247; and sub-treasury plan, 249; defeated by Harrison, 250; establishes ten-hour day in navy yards, 265; nominated for President by Free Soil Party, 280.
- Van Rensselaer, General Stephen, 217.
- Vasco da Gama, 8.
- Venezuelan boundary question, 369.
- Vera Cruz, capture of, 259, 393.
- Vermont, admitted, 186.
- Verrazano, 23.
- Vespucci, Amerigo, 16.
- Veto power in colonial times, 121-122.
- Vicksburg, siege of, 312.
- Villa, Mexican revolutionist, 393, 394.
- Vincennes, Fort, 156-157.
- Vinland, 2.
- Virgin Islands, purchase of, 395.
- Virginia, first charter of, 49; settlement, 50-52; charter of 1609, 52; beginning of self-government in, 54; as a royal province, 55; protests against Port Bill, 133; ratifies Constitution of the United States, 181; secedes, 296.
- Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 201.
- Voting, right of, extended, 266.
- Wade-Davis Bill, 330.
- Waldseemüller, Martin, 16, 17.
- War of 1812, 213-224.
- "War Hawks," 215.
- War Savings Stamps, 407.
- Washington, Augustine, 110.
- Washington, Booker T., 349.
- Washington, George, at Fort Necessity, 111; at Braddock's defeat, 113; at capture of Fort Duquesne, 115; named commander-in-chief, 136; compels evacuation of Boston, 139; retreats through New Jersey, 145; success of, at Trenton and Princeton, 145-146; at Morristown, 146; at Valley Forge, 152; had "almost ceased to hope," 162; directs capture of Yorktown, 167; resigns command, 170; presides over Constitutional Convention, 178; portrait, 178; first President of United States, 181; opposes slavery, 187; replies to address of Catholics, 190; establishes President's Cabinet, 192; neutral in French War, 195-196; opposes war with England, 197; retires to private life, 198; death of, 202.
- Washington, admitted, 347; adopts woman suffrage, 391.
- Washington, D. C., capital of United States, 205; captured by British, 221; treaty of, 337.
- Washington, Lawrence, 110.
- Wasb*, American sloop, 218.
- Waxhaw, battle of, 161.
- Wayne, General Anthony, captures Stony Point, 154; subdues Indians, 185-186.
- Weaver, J. B., candidate for President, 363.

- Webster, Daniel, replies to Hayne, 242;
Secretary of State, 252; and Maine
boundary dispute, 253; and Compromise
of 1850, 282.
- Webster-Ashburton treaty, 253.
- Webster-Hayne debate, 241.
- Weed, Thurlow, 303.
- West Virginia, admitted, 296.
- Western land claims, 133; ceded by states,
172-173.
- Westward movement, 210-211, 228.
- Weymouth, George, visits New England
coast, 46.
- Whigs, beginnings of, 240, 244.
- Whisky Rebellion, 195.
- White, Father, compiles Indian grammar
and dictionary, 59; sent to England in
chains, 60.
- White, John, founder of Massachusetts
Company, 70.
- White, John, governor of Roanoke colony,
46.
- White House Conference, 385.
- Whitney, Eli, inventor of the cotton-gin, 187.
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, 246, 271.
- Wilderness, battle of, 323.
- Wilderness Road, 186.
- Wilkes, Captain Charles, in command of the
Trent, 302.
- William III grants charter to Massachusetts,
79.
- William of Rubruck, 6.
- Williams, Roger, founds Rhode Island, 74-75.
- Wilmot, David, 279.
- Wilmot Proviso, 278-279.
- Wilson, Woodrow, chosen President, 389;
portrait, 389; reverses old custom, 390;
Latin-American policy of, 395; proclaims
American neutrality, 396; protests Brit-
ish blockade, 397; protests German sub-
marine warfare, 398; reelection of, 400;
asks European belligerents for peace terms,
401; breaks diplomatic relations with
Germany, 401; asks for declaration of war,
402; outlines American war purposes, 403;
his "fourteen points," 409; announces
armistice, 412; goes to peace conference,
413.
- Winchester, battle of, 306, 324.
- Winthrop, John, leads expedition to Massa-
chusetts, 71; portrait, 71.
- Wirt, William, candidate of Anti-masonic
Party, 244.
- Wisconsin, admitted, 265.
- Witchcraft, in colonies, 79-80.
- Wolfe, General James, captures Quebec,
115-116.
- Woman suffrage, 390-391.
- Workmen's Compensation Act, 400.
- Wyoming, admitted, 347; grants woman
suffrage, 390.
- Yardley, Sir George, governor of Virginia,
54.
- York, Ontario, 221.
- Yorktown, 167-168.
- Young Men's Christian Association, 408.
- Young Men's Hebrew Association, 408.



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